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ZHOU CHEN

The Life and Paintings of a Ming Professional Artist

by

Mette Siggstedt

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PREFACE

The Chinese early recognized the relationship between the artist's social position and his art. Painting history was often discussed in terms of two main categories: that of the literati (amateur) painters and that of professionals.

In Chinese society, with its very prestigious scholar-gentry class, it was natural that literati painting attracted most interest. Even Western art historians have recently, quite understandably, taken a liking to the theories of literati painting: the literati with their view of painting as a vehicle for self-expression, their professed aloofness above monetary matters, and their elitism, offer intriguing parallells to an approach common among modern artists. Literati paintings has subsequently been the focus of interest even in the West to the detriment of Chinese professional painting.

I hope my thesis will contribute to a better understanding of the situation of the professional artist in China. By throwing light on the life and works of one artist active during a period when both literati and professional painting were flourishing, I have wanted to better elucidate the position of the professional artist in traditional Chinese society, and to show how style and iconography could be influenced by this position.

A large part of my research work was done at the National Palace Museum in Taipei (in the thesis abbreviated NPM), and I owe a great debt to its staff under the directorship of Dr. Chiang Fu-tsung. Especially I want to thank Mr. Chiang Chao-shen, Mr. Chang Kuang-pin, Mrs. Hu Sai-lan and Mrs. Cheng Yao-hsi at the Department of Painting and Calligraphy, whose patience and generosity have been truly outstanding.

My post-graduate years have been spent at a number of institutions in Stockholm, Taipei and Peking, and I want to thank my teachers: Professor Göran Malmqvist, Dr. Bo Gyllensvärd, Professor Chuang Shen, Dr. Shen Fu, Professor Zhang Anshi, Professor Jin Weinuo, Professor Bo Songnian and Professor Tang Chi. I would also like to express my deep gratitude to Professor Richard Edwards for his valuable advice.

My class-mates Sung Hou-mei, Ch'en Pao-chen, Ch'en Fang-mei and Ch'en Ching-kuang have all supplied me with material and helped me through difficult passages, and for this and for moral support have my deepfelt thanks.

I also want to thank the Western Norway Museum of Applied Art and the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies for generous grants, and Dr. Jan Wirgin for his kind offer of publishing the thesis in the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.

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EMPERORS OF THE MING DYNASTY

Temple name	Reign title	Reigning years
Taizu	Hongwu	1368–1398
Huizong	Jianwen	1399–1402
Chengzu	Yongle	1403–1424
Renzong	Hongxi	1425
Xuanzong	Xuande	1426–1435
Yingzong	Zhengtong	1436–1449
Daizong	Jingtai	1450–1456
Yingzong	Tianshun	1457–1464
Xianzong	Chenghua	1465–1487
Xiaozong	Hongzhi	1488–1505
Wuzong	Zhengde	1506–1521
Shizong	Jiajing	1522–1566
Muzong	Longqing	1567–1572
Shenzong	Wanli	1573–1620
Guangzong	Taichang	1620
Xizong	Tianqi	1621–1627
Sizong	Chongzhen	1628–1644

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BACKGROUND

The China of the middle Ming was a vast agricultural community, where the great majority of the population lived as tenants on rented land. In the cities, however, there was a steadily growing industrialization. Middle Ming was a relatively peaceful and prosperous period in Chinese history, but signs of dynastic decline were already clearly manifest.

Few of the emperors were competent to cope with the administration of a big empire. Most of them came to the throne in their teens and died fairly young. They grew up in the secluded surroundings of the court, and their youth and lack of experience made them lean heavily on their advisers. This gave rise to many conflicts, where the court and the regular bureaucracy were split into factions. Eunuch influence on politics was considered as an evil threat of major importance by contemporaries, and – even if the influence of the imperial favourites may have been overrated[1]) – it seems clear that the weakening of the regular bureaucracy to the benefit of imperial favourites was a corruptive factor in the imperial administration.

The ranking officials in the regular bureaucracy – on central as well as local levels – were mainly recruited by examination. The examination system was based on memorizing the Confucian classics with Song commentaries. The literary form of the examination essay – the "eight-legged essay" – became a monster of rigidity. The topics of these essays mostly centered on moral issues, which did not prevent corruption from being a most serious problem among the officials. This examination system created a bureaucracy uniform in its Confucian ideology, with the motto: "The subjects serve the ruler with loyalty, the ruler treats his subjects according to the required ceremonies" – an ideology perfectly well suited to conserve the values of earlier times. Formality, rigidity and deep veneration for the past characterized the members of the bureaucracy.

During certain periods, corruption and misgovernment grew to such an extent that it became unbearable to the people, and they rose in revolt. Several popular uprisings occurred during the life-time of Zhou Chen: Even in the Zhengtong era there were serious revolts.[2]) In the Chenghua era there was one particularly great uprising of homeless people (*liumin*) who had taken refugee in the mountainous frontier area bordering on Henan, Hubei, and Shaanxi.[3]) The Zhengde era – a period notorious for its misgovernment – saw many serious revolts: From the 4th year so-called "bandits" (*dao* – a term used to designate people opposing the government) rose in several districts.[4]) The local risings were followed by revolts covering large areas.[5]) These uprisings in middle Ming were suppressed only with difficulty, despite the efficient military administration of the period.

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The dynasty was further weakened by struggles with external enemies. In the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries, the most serious threat came from the northern nomads. Their power reached an apex when they took the Chinese emperor prisoner in a battle in 1449. Soon after, their strength was weakened by internal struggles, but their raids in the north continued. The frequency of these raids grew continually from the Chenghua era onwards, and the defence against the nomads drained much from the Chinese state revenue.[6])

The fiscal economy – from being in a generally sound state in the fifteenth century – decayed beyond recovery in the sixteenth. During the fifteenth century, the state income still showed a yearly surplus, and the government could afford to show relative leniency towards the taxpayers. But corruption and the subsequent tax-evasion caused a decrease in the state income, while at the same time state expenses substantially increased.[7])

Despite a decline in fiscal economy, industries developed rapidly during middle Ming, especially in the Southeast. Here there was an upsurge in mining, smelting, textile, porcelain, and printing industries. This upsurge continued into the 16th century. At the same time, the population increased.[8])

Jiangnan in the lower Yangzi basin was the centre of the prosperous area in the Southeast. It had become a key economic region in late Tang, and assumed major importance when the Song dynasty lost the greater part of Northern China to the Jin tartars and had to move its capital to Hangzhou in northern Zhejiang. Even when the Yuan-dynasty established its capital far north in present-day Peking, the region kept its position as the key economic area of the empire.[9])

During middle Ming, the southern part of Jiangnan belonged administratively to the Zhejiang province, while Northern Jiangnan belonged to the Southern Metropolitan Area (*Nan zhili*), which was administered directly from the Auxiliary Capital in Nanjing. (Peking was the Main Capital during most of the dynasty.) The Auxiliary Capital duplicated all the agencies of the Main Capital, but the agencies were concerned primarily with the local administration of the Southern Metropolitan Area (i.e. present-day Jiangsu and Anhui).

The prefecture of Suzhou was part of this Southern Metropolitan Area. During middle Ming, the Suzhou prefecture was subdivided into 7 counties (*xian*): Wu, Changzhou, Wujiang, Jiading, Kunshan, Changshu, and Taicang. The prefectural town of Suzhou was divided between the Wu and Changzhou counties – a division which had taken place as early as during Tang. The border between the two counties went through the middle of the town.

In middle Ming, Suzhou prefecture was famous for its wealth and beauty. When the Jesuit father Matteo Ricci travelled around in Jiangnan in the late 16th century, he was deeply impressed by Suzhou:

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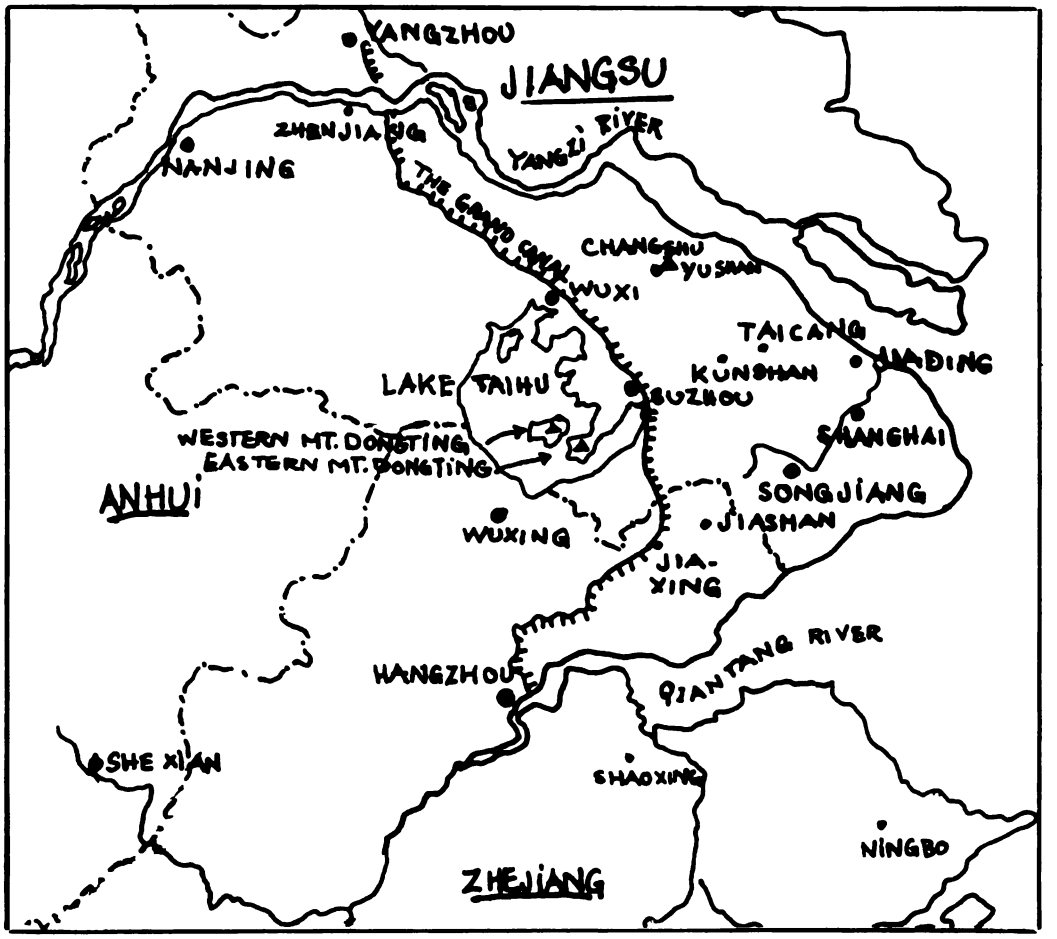

This [i.e. Suzhou] is one of the two towns which the Chinese have put into the proverb: "What in heaven is called the seat of the blessed, on earth is Suceu [Suzhou] and Hamceu [Hangzhou]". It is one of the most important cities of this region and is known for its splendour and wealth, for its numerous population and for about everything else that makes a city grand. It is situated on a calm river of fresh water, or one might aptly say on a lake, swept by gentle winds.

People move about here on land and on water, as they do in Venice, but the water here is fresh and clear, unlike that in Venice, which is salty and brackish. Both the streets and the bridges rest upon wooden piles of pine, sunk deep into the river, after the European fashion. A great part of the merchandise from Portugal, by way of Macao, and from other foreign countries, passes through this river port. The merchants here carry on a heavy trade throughout the whole year with the other trading centers of the kingdom, with the result that there is scarcely anything that one cannot purchase at this mart. There is only one entrance to the city by land but various entrances by water. The city is all bridges, very old but beautifully built, and those over the narrow canal are constructed as single arches. Nowhere in China can one find more butter and milk products, nor better rice wine, which is exported to Pekin and to the realm in general. This center is about two days' journey from the sea, heavily fortified, and is the principal of the eight cities in the district.[10])

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Suzhou was one of the most densely populated prefectures in the whole empire. According to statistics from 1376 (the population records from the Hongwu period are the only reliable records from the Ming dynasty), the prefecture had a population of 2,160,463. The registered population of the whole empire in 1393 was 60,545,812. Thus, more than 3% of the registered population of China lived in this single prefecture. The popultion grew continually during the whole Ming period.[11])

The economy was primarily based on agriculture. The soil in the area was fertile and the many rivers, lakes, and canals supplied sufficient water in normal years. The major crop was paddy-rice, a labour-intensive crop well suited to the densely populated Suzhou-area. Paddy-rice is, on the other hand, very sensitive to irregularities in the water supply: Droughts and floods with resulting famines are frequentl, reported by the local gazetteers during Ming.[12]) Floods were a great problem in Suzhou. The difference in altitude between Suzhou and the ocean being minimal, the mouths and rivers easily silted up. If the rivers and canals were not regularly dredged, inundation of the rice-fields could not be avoided.[13])

Second in economic importance during Ming was sericultere. Suzhou was one of the leading silk-producing prefectures of the empire. Sericulture, too, is very labour-intensive and yields crops of high commercial value per cultivated *mou*.

In addition to these major crops many villages and districts specialized in certain cash crops – e.g. the farmers of the Dongting mountains concentrated on the cultivation of oranges and pomelos. This specialization was a result of favourable water transport in the lower Yangzi basin, which made it possible for the farmers to reach a wider market.

The rapid development of industry was partly caused by the dense population of the area. In Suzhou the textile industry was the most important. A government report from late Ming says: "Wu has the densest population. Land is scarce. In the homes the looms shuttle, and the households make ropes. Factory owners provide capital, workers provide their strength, and thus in mutual dependence they have made their living for a long time."[14]) The eastern part of the prefectural city was dominated by weaving manufactories and spinning mills.[15]) Printing was another important industry. In addition, Suzhou excelled in high quality handicrafts: It was famous for its embroideries, decorated paper, lanterns, etc.[16])

The prerequisite for this kind of economy was trade on a rather advanced level: Trade in the lower Yangzi basin was facilitated by the many waterways in the region – the broad Yangzi river, as well as many of its tributaries, were navigable, and there was an abundance of navigable canals. The prefectural town of Suzhou was situated very advantageously at the confluence of the Grand Canal and the Lou River. In early Ming, when Peking became the Main Capital, the Grand

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Canal had been re-opened to safeguard grain transport from the South to the Capital. The canal became the most important transport route during Ming, and Suzhou naturally became one of the most prosperous trade centers of the time. The flourishing market-life became a characteristic trait of the city, as reported by Matteo Ricci. About one hundred years earlier than the Jesuit father – in the 1480s – Ch'oe Pu from Korea had travelled in Jiangnan and found that in Suzhou "shops and markets, one after the other, lined both river banks, and merchant junks were gathered together."[17])

The burden of taxes in Jiangnan was heavy during Ming, and Suzhou was the prefecture which paid most taxes in the empire.[18]) The rich landowners in Jiangnan had supported Zhang Shicheng – the ach-rival of the later Hongwu-emperor – in the struggle for power after the fall of the Yuan-dynasty. When the Hongwu-emperor came to the throne, he punished the region with large confiscations of land and a very heavy taxation. [19]) Even if the taxes were to be reduced somewhat later in the Hongwu era, [20]) the tax-burden was still considered too heavy and resulted in large scale tax evasion.[21]) In 1430, the Court was forced to send a commissioner to Jiangnan to solve the conflict. During the following years, taxes in several prefectures were reduced, but they were still very heavy.[22]) The main reason why the emperor imposed such heavy taxes was probably to eliminate the powerful and wealthy landowner class in this key economic area, but in this he failed: The ownership of land was probably more concentrated in Jiangnan than in most areas of the empire. There was also considerable tax-evasion among the wealthy gentry, and the pressure of fiscal obligations on farmers and tenants became increasingly severe. A late Ming government report says: "Wealthy and influential families conceal the number of their taxable members, and evade taxes, while the poor people suffer all the hardships of heavy corvée-labour. This problem is most pronounced in Wu."[23])

The economic pattern created a rather diversified social stratification, with an upper class consisting of officials, landed gentry, wealthy merchants and factory owners. On the whole, the dividing line between the various groups of the wealthy became more and more diffuse: The textile industry and trade offered possibilities for great accumulation of wealth. Many made a fortune in trade or industry, later to re-invest the capital in real estate.[24]) At the bottom of this affluent society we find a numerous group of beggars, prostitutes, and homeless people (*liumin)* – pariahs with no rights in society.

The status of the artisan had been somewhat raised in Ming. After having been forced into slave-status under the Mongols, the artisans once more obtained the status of free men.[25]) The previous forms of corvée-labour were gradually commuted into silver, and the taxes levied upon them became more or less akin to those of the peasantry. However, most artisans still had low incomes and low

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social status. Specialization was great: It was during Ming that artisans were classified in 360 professions (*hang*). This classification included the different categories in the steadily growing textile industry, although the situation of those engaged in this industry was sometimes more like that of an urban proletariat than of a traditional artisan class.[26]) We possess a contemporary record of the conditions of the workers in a factory in Hangzhou: Working in dilapidated houses, the workers did not leave their machines until 2 a.m., and were paid a subsistence minimum. [27]) We have no reason to believe that conditions for textile workers in Suzhou were much different. Professional artists, including painters, were also classified as artisans.

Social mobility was great in Ming Suzhou – wealth seldom remained within a given family for many generations. A contemporary source says: "The soil of Wu is rich, but taxes are heavy and the way of life frivolous – therefore it seldom happens that a family keeps its fortune for as long as hundred years. Even a family of high officials loses its position after one or two generations."[28]) Fu Yiling has pointed out that one reason for this social mobility was the lack of understanding of the dynamics of investment.[29]) Ho Ping-ti mentions as major causes the Chinese custom of equal inheritance among brothers and the need for continual success in state examinations.[30]) It was especially difficult for the inhabitants of South China to pass these examinations, since the complete dominance of southerners in examinations in early Ming had necessitated the introduction of a regional quota system.[31])

It is against this social background that much of the art and literature must be understood: Most of the leading poets, calligraphers, literati painters and art connoisseurs belonged to wealthy families.[32]) Some were sons of prominent officials, surprisingly many belonged to wealthy merchant families. They had the kind of background that gave access to big libraries and art collections. From childhood they were in personal contact with the leading cultural personalities of the day. In their youth, most of them had prepared for a career as officials by studying the Confucian classics, but a great majority shared the frustrating experience of meeting Ming bureaucracy: Many failed to pass the examinations on a higher level, as it was especially difficult for southerners to pass these examinations. Their broader feld of interests might also have made it more difficult to conform to the strict pattern of these examinations. Of those embarking on a career as officials, many were to retire quite early in their career, some ousted during the frequent factional struggles which marred Ming politics, others going into voluntary retirement, disgusted with the intrigues and corruption within the bureaucracy.

Suzhou had been a centre for recluses since early Yuan, when several famous "*yimin*" ("leftover subjects") from Song had chosen to go into seclusion here.

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Taihu-stone (Wang shi yuan) *Photo: O. Sirén*

The beautiful landscape and refined pleasures of Suzhou continued to attract people who wanted to live in retirement.

Suzhou was famous for its water-side sceneries: Rivers, lakes and canals formed a network between verdant fields and supple willow trees. In the hilly regions between the city and the Taihu Lake famous old temples were scattered among the mountains.

From old, Suzhou was also famous for its gardens. The prerequisites for landscape gardening were excellent: Water and rocks are the most essential elements in a Chinese garden — Suzhou has abundant water supplies and the famous Taihu garden rocks were quarried in the neighbourhood. The Taihu stones were made from rocks hewn out from the western Mt. Dongting in the Taihu Lake. This production was described by Zhang Xiaju of the Qing dynasty: "Taihun stones are elegant and pleasing, a must for everyone who builds a garden, whatever the price might be. People living close to the lake [i.e. Taihu] take the rocks and bore holes in them. Afterwards the rocks are exposed to heavy billows. After a long time, the marks of the tools have been transformed. Accordingly, the rocks look as though created by nature, while their slim form as well as all their creases and holes are in reality man-made in order to fetch a high price in the market. This is called the "cultivation of stones". These people might be called stone farmers."[33])

The climate also favours lush vegetation: A rich variety of deciduous trees, picturesque *baqiao* palms, bamboo, flowers, etc.[34])

The drama developed rapidly in this wealthy city. Suzhou was famous for its exquisite theatre (and for its prostitution – two professions closely linked together during Ming). It was in this area that the foundations were laid for what was later to develop into the refined Kunqu-opera.

During Yuan and Ming, a literati culture flourished in these favourable surroundings. In late Yuan, many outstanding literati were active in the area. One of the leading personalities was Gao Qi (1336–1374) – most famous for his poems

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Suzhou garden (Wang shi yuan) *Photo: Jan Wirgin*

in various *shi*-metres.[35]) Several of the leading literati in Suzhou – among them Gao Qi – met a premature death at the command of the first Ming emperor, and literary development in Suzhou was probably somewhat slowed down for this reason. During most of the 15th century, however, a large number of poems of high quality in *shi*-metres were produced in Suzhou. The best poetry composed in middle Ming Suzhou had a freshness of approach and often a direct emotional appeal, while rigid formalism became more and more prevalent in the literature of other cultural centres of China. Many of the calligraphers and painters in Suzhou (such as Shen Zhou, Zhu Yunming, Tang Yin, Wen Zhengming), were also acknowledged masters of *shi* poetry, and a majority of the inscriptions on paintings were written in *shi* metres.

Literati painting reached its zenith in the Suzhou-area during late Yuan, with artists as Huang Gongwang, Ni Zan, and Wang Meng active in the area or on frequent visits,[36]) while the early Ming period seems rather eventless. Research regarding this period is still at a very unsatisfactory level, and discussion is

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further hampered by the scarcity of extant paintings. In the early Hongwu era, some painters of the preceding dynasty were still active, but by the 1380's almost all of the Yuan artists had died (some had met a premature death, executed by the Hongwu emperor). In the late Hongwu/early Yongle period there was only one painter of major importance in the region: Wang Fu from neighbouring Wuxi. He specialized in landscape and bamboo paintings. His landscapes are classified as part of the Dong-Ju tradition, but his paintings bear witness of little, if any, direct influence from the early masters Dong Yuan and Juran, whereas the influence of the Yuan masters is clearly discernable. From them he frequently borrowed idioms and motifs (in brushwork as well as in composition). This tendency towards eclecticism and – in better works – synthesis, based on the four Yuan-masters, started as early as late Yuan (with masters like Xu Ben, Chen Ruyan, etc.) and was to become a main trend in literati painting in middle Ming.

The generation after Wang Fu yielded few literati painters of importance. The most important landscape artists were Du Qiong (1396–1474) and Liu Jue (1410–72) – both living in Suzhou and both painting in the so-called Dong-Ju tradition. Their style was deeply influenced by the art of the great Yuan masters as well as of that of Wang Fu.

Shen Zhou (1427–1509) is the painter named in Chinese art history as the founder of the Wu-school, i.e. the style of literati painting in middle Ming Suzhou. His ancestors had participated in the cultural life of Suzhou in unbroken succession since late Yuan: His great-grandfather – Shen Liangzhen – was a collector and connoisseur who had contacts with Wang Meng. His grandfather – Shen Cheng – was a painter and poet – a member of the famous coterie of painters and literati in Suzhou.[37]) Shen Cheng's sons Shen Heng (1409–77) – father of Shen Zhou – and Shen Zhen (1400–after 1480) belonged to the same circle of literati in Suzhou as Du Qiong and Liu Jue, and the two brothers studied painting under Du Qiong. Shen Zhen's painting "A Scholar's Pavilion in a Bamboo Grove", private coll., Japan, shows an obvious relation to Du Qiong's style. As a young man, Shen Zhou knew well both Du Qiong and Liu Jue, and he had excellent opportunities of studying the works of his immediate predecessors in literati painting. Still, he enriched the tradition by going back to the original works of the great Yuan-masters. Gradually, Shen Zhou developed bold and free brushwork of great strength. His texture strokes were generally coarser and shorter than those of the Yuan-master and he generously added *taidian* (ink dots/splotches). In this manner he could further develop a simplification in brushwork, while at the same time maintain a 3-dimensional quality. A prominent feature of his art is its broad scope: Even if his main inspiration beyond doubt came from the great Yuan-masters, he also studied earlier styles. He even did paintings in the *qinglü* mode ("blue-and-green") – an archaic type of painting with vivid colouring, dominated by mineral blues and greens. Because of its decorative qualities, the

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qinglü-mode was often used by professional artists. Their paintings, with an abundance of detail done in the *gongbi* manner, often failed to win the approval of the literati painters. However, the literati painters had no prejudice against the *qinglü* mode itself – to the contrary, many felt a certain attraction towards its archaic qualities. During the *fugu*-movement (*fugu* – "Return to the way of the ancients") in early Yuan, Zhao Mengfu and his friend Qian Xuan had revived this mode, and in middle Ming the literati once more became fascinated by its archaic qualities. A fine example of Shen Zhou's *qinglü* painting is the handscroll "The Season of Falling flowers", NPM, Taipei, in which he combines beautiful colouring with coarse, deliberately awkward brushwork.

Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) was the son of Shen Zhou's old friend Wen Lin. In his late 'teens he started to study painting under Shen Zhou, but his ambition of making a career as an official seems to have hampered his development as a painter. Only after a frustrating experience as an official in the Hanlin academy in Peking (1523–26), did he start to concentrate seriously on painting.[38]) With Shen Zhou as his teacher, he was naturally deeply influenced by the styles of the Yuan-masters. But the style he slowly developed was to a large extent based on other aspects of the Yuan literati painting than those which had appealed to Shen Zhou. While Shen Zhou had been intrigued above else by the naturalness and lack of pretension in the art of Huang Gongwang, Wu Zhen, and Ni Zan, Wen Zhengming aimed at the complex compositional patterns and technically sophisticated brushwork of Wang Meng. The eclecticism of the time made it natural for him also to seek prototypes in pre-Yuan art. Ann De Coursey Clapp has expressed it thus: "He was prepared to accept T'ang [Tang] and Sung [Song] models as co-equal with the Yüan [Yuan], the more so if they belonged to the literati class ... The importance of the Northern Sung academy style as transmitted to Wen can no longer be ignored. It affected him and other masters deeply, especially in the genre of gardens and 'scholarly conversations', and contributed a strong strain to the early and middle sixteenth century. Neither can Wen's work in the T'ang blue-green manner be overlooked, a manner which connects him again with the Sung academy through Chao Po-chü (Zhao Boju). Least of all should he lose credit for his magnificent regeneration of the Li Ch'eng tradition."[39]) It cannot be questioned that Wen Zhengming chose as prototypes the modes of masters from many dynasties, but when working in pre-Yuan modes, he was deeply influenced by the Yuan-Ming development of these modes. The paintings representing his "magnificent regeneration of the Li Cheng tradition" were probably as much influenced by pictures of "bare trees" (*hanlin*) by Yuan literati painters (such as Cao Zhibo and Wu Zhen)[40]) as by works from the Song dynasty. His *qinglü* paintings are more in the tradition of the literati Qian Xuan, Zhao Mengfu, and Shen Zhou, than in that of Zhao Boju himself. The eclecticism we find in Wen Zhengming's oeuvre is in the main a development of trends already manifest in Shen Zhou's art. But with him there emerges an

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increasing formalism, which makes the eclecticism stand out more clearly. Clapp says: "In general, Wen's aesthetic interest focussed on style itself rather than subject ... A new standard comes into Chinese painting in the sixteenth century which put a special premium on the mastery of a whole repertory of modes and techniques."[41])

Being the leading personality in artistic circles in Suzhou, Wen Zhengming naturally attracted many followers, and his mature style had a decisive influence on later painters of the Wu-school. Deeply influenced by Wen Zhengming, this late phase of Suzhou literati painting shows a preference for tall, narrow compositions, done in dry, light and minute brushwork, quite different from the broad, wet strokes of Shen Zhou's paintings.

The so-called Wu-school of painting thus developed organically out of the literati traditions of the Yuan-dyansty. Trends towards eclecticism were strong even during late Yuan, and increased more and more in importance. In middle Ming, the leading literati painters made pastiches on the modes of masters from several early periods.

In Suzhou and its neighbouring districts, literati painting enjoyed great prestige, but its exclusive distribution and lack of decorative qualities made the region an important market even for paintings by professionals. The professional painters living here were numerous, their production very diversified. They did decorative and didactic paintings, paintings of female beauties and Confucian sages, portraits of Suzhou citizens and their ancestors. Much in demand were hanging scrolls suited for different occasions and seasons of the year and paintings with auspicious motifs. The great antiquarian interest of buyers naturally resulted in copies being made of old masters, pastiches as well as direct forgeries. Most of these painters were mere artisans, but among them were a few men, whose work was of high artistic quality. It was natural professional painters to be influenced by the literati, even if they belonged to different social classes. The more famous among the professionals and literati were often personally acquainted, and the prestige of literati painting was an incentive to take up stylistic traits from their art.

Zhou Chen belonged to a group of professional painters in Suzhou, whom has been classified by 20th century art historians as painters in the "Yuanti style". The origin and use of this term, as well as its stylistic implications, will be discussed in Part III.

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BIOGRAPHY

Literary Sources.

Biographical material on Zhou Chen is very scarce. We have neither an epitaph nor an official biography. Unlike the literati painters of Suzhou, he mostly confined his inscriptions on paintings to a signature, it is seldom that he even added the date. As far as I know, he never wrote inscriptions on paintings by any other artists. The literati of his time seldom wrote poems and comments on his works. Thus, we lack information on his family background, the dates of his birth and death, etc. I have translated all the known early biographies of Zhou Chen in extenso, and summarized the later biographies. The lack of information in most of the sources makes them rather frustrating reading: Most information is found in the sources from middle Ming (late Jiajing era) – later sources for the most part merely repeat earlier works.

BIOGRAPHIES WRITTEN DURING THE MIDDLE MING PERIOD.

(1) A very brief biographical sketch of Zhou Chen is found in *Tuhui baojian xubian*. This work was written in 1519, i.e. when Zhou Chen was still alive:

Zhou Chen. *Zi:* Shunchen.[1]) From Eastern Wu [i.e. Suzhou]. His landscapes and figure paintings are all of a light and pure character. He is skilled in composing poetry.[2])

(2) He Liangjun was in close contact with the later generation of the Wu-school. He was a great admirer of Wen Zhengming (whom he knew personally) and a friend of the latter's second son Wen Jia (1501–1583). In his *Siyouzhai hualun* he writes the following about Zhou Chen:

In this dynasty those skilled in painting are numerous. Among the professionals, Dai Jin should be considered the foremost, and Wu Wei, Du Jin, and Zhou Chen to be next to him in quality.[3])

Zhou Dongcun. Personal name: Chen. *Zi:* Shunqing. From Suzhou. In his paintings he used the methods of the Song dynasty masters. Among those who study Ma [Yuan] and Xia [Gui], he may be compared to Dai Jin. Both of them have their strong points, and I do not know which in the end is the better. He, too, was a master of Academic styles. I have heard that when people urged Tang Yin to paint and he was too lazy to move his brush, he commissioned Zhou Chen to paint in his stead. Perhaps such a thing may have happened.[4])

(3) The famous scholar Wang Shizhen (1525–1590) mentions Zhou Chen in his *Yiyuan zhiyan:*

Zhou Chen. *Hao:* Dongcun. Also from Wu. He was especially skilled in the techniques of the Song masters Guo [Xi], Li [Tang][5]), Ma [Yuan] and Xia [Gui]. His brushwork is even more mature than

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that of Tang [Yin]; but in the works by Zhou Chen the professional spirit is prevalent. Every time Tang received a commission, he followed [the style of Zhou] Chen and started to paint in an untrammeled mood.[6]) A man like Zhou Chen might be called an indirect follower[7]) of Dai Jin.[8])

In the beginning of the Jiajing era, when Zhou Chen's paintings were at the height of their fame and Yan Song [the notorious statesman] was in the Nanjing Ministry of Personell, he often asked Zhou Chen to let him have some paintings, but Zhou Chen did not usually comply. It went so far that Yan Song ordered one of his subordinates to go to Zhou Chen to threaten him with imprisonment. The pressure [on Zhou Chen] did not decrease until after he had requested someone to intervene. Still, [Yan Song] forced [Zhou Chen] to go to Nanjing, where he did two months of painting. Yan Song paid nowhere near value of the paintings, and [Zhou Chen] went home crushed.[9])

(4) *Xu Wu xianxian zan* is a collection of biographies written by Liu Feng (*jinshi* 1544) from Changzhou (Suzhou):

Chen Xian was skilled in coloured ["coloured" as contrasted to "ink monochrome"] landscape and figure painting. Zhou Chen learned from Chen Xian and also studied the old masters. He attained the so-called "6 principles of painting" almost completely.[10]) In his paintings, large as well as small, the finely interwoven as well as the empty and desolate, all is aptly expressed. Among the proficient of that day, there were many who let their brush flow in a free manner without any constraint, and were clever in expressing a desolate and placid atmosphere – but when it comes to the graceful and elegant there were only Zhou [Chen], Tang [Yin], and the pupil Qiu Ying.[11])

(5) Dating from about the same time is *Guochao Wujun danqing zhi* (preface dated 1563), written by Wang Chideng (1535–1612) from Wuxi (Jiangsu). Wang was in close contact with the later Wu-school and was also acquainted with the much older Wen Zhengming:

Zhou Chen from Wu: In his landscape and figure paintings, he depicts deep gorges and thick mists, countenances of olden times and strange adornments. It has a quality of ancient tradition. In his time he was praised as an able artist. But he did not gain distinction in rendering a gloomy and desolate atmosphere, the mood of a distant and tranquil place[12])

BIOGRAPHIES WRITTEN AFTER THE MIDDLE MING PERIOD.

Biographies written after the middle Ming period provide very little new information – they mostly quote or summarize earlier biographies (though seldom referring to their sources). As they are frequently cited, I give a brief survey of them below:

(1) The biography in *Huashi huiyao* from late Ming (preface dated 1631), written by Zhu Mouyan, took its information from *Tuhui baojian xubian* and *Guochao Wujun danqing zhi*.[13])

(2) The local gazetteer for the Wu-area in late Ming – *Wuxian zhi* (dated 1642) –

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summarizes Liu Feng's biography.[14])

(3) *Wusheng shi shi* was probably written in the beginning of the Qing dynasty. Its biography of Zhou Chen is based on *Siyouzhai hualun*. Even the wording is more or less indentical.

(4) The last of the frequently quoted Zhou Chen-biographies is the one in *Ming hualu*, written by Xu Qin from Kuaiqi (Zhejiang) at the beginning of the Qing dynasty.[16]) His information is taken from *Wuxian zhi* and *Yiyuan zhiyan.*[17])

The Dates of Zhou Chen's Birth an Death

The above-quoted sources constitute a meagre material for a Zhou Chen biography – they do not even give the dates of Zhou Chen's birth and death.

It seems most likely that he died around 1535: He was still active in the 1530's, for we have three dated paintings from this period: "Calling on a Friend", 1531, "Illustration to the Story of a Fisherman Entering the Peach-blossom Valley", 1533, and the *jiebiao* of "Poetical Thoughts among Pines and Streams", 1534. His connections with Yan Song can most likely be dated to between 1533 and 1536, when the latter was a *shangshu* in the Nanjing Ministry of Personnel (see below). He must have died soon after the Yan Song incident, since Peng Nian says in his colophone on a Qiu Ying painting: "After Zhou Chen had died, he [i.e. Qiu Ying] was unrivalled in the Jiangnan area for 20 years."[18]) If we take this literally, we could date Zhou's death to around 1532, as Qiu Ying died c. 1552.[19])

But Ming writers were rather casual in their dealings with these kinds of details. Peng Nian's "20 years" should only be taken as a rough estimate. Without shortening the 20 years too much, we get a date around 1535 for Zhou Chen's death.

Zhou Chen must have been born earlier or at the same time as Tang Yin – i.e. before or around 1470 – as Tang Yin studied his style. It seems reasonable to date his birth not earlier than 1450, as no sources mention him as being especially long-lived – longevity being something almost always found worthy of comment in this Confucian society.

I thus tentatively propose the following dates for Zhou Chen's life:
Born: C. 1450/1470.
Died: C. 1535.

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Chen Xian: Zhou Chen's Teacher

Liu Feng states that Zhou Chen studied painting under a certain Chen Xian. There exists today a scarcity of well-documented works by this artist, but he was a well-known painter in his time, and we find important information about him in literary sources.

The first time we find Chen Xian mentioned in literature is in a short notice in *Wuzhong renwu shi* by Zhang Quan from Changzhou (Suzhou). As Zhang Quan died in 1483, the book must have been written before Chen Xian was 30 years old – indicating that Chen Xian was well-known as a painter rather early in life. The information given about the young artist is sparse:

Chen Xian. *Zi:* Jizhao. From this prefecture [i.e. Suzhou]. Paints landscapes and figures. His paintings have, however, an artisan flavour.[20])

The most important single document relating Chen Xian is his epitaph, written by Zhu Yünming (1461–1527) – one of the most famous poets and calligraphers of Suzhou, and Tang Yin's close friend. I quote the epitaph in extenso, as it is one of the few extant epitaphs written for professional artists in middle Ming:

Of our prefecture was Chen Xian, who did paintings for 60 years. Everyone – near and far – who is interested in painting, knows the name of Chen Xian from Gusu [i.e. Suzhou]. After his death, his family asked me to write his epitaph, and this moved me deeply.

After [Tai] Hao [Fu] Xi had created diagrams for water and fire, and the historian Cang [Jie] the characters for the sun and the moon,[21]) establishing symbols and diagrams and characters in order to trace the origin of things and regulate them, the art of writing and painting came into existence. That which can be vocalized is called calligraphy, while that wich merely has form is called painting. But, discussing it [i.e. painting and calligraphy] in its most sublime, form and sound actually are superfluous aspects.

As one should not emphasize one point of view to the neglect of another, so one should not slight those who investigate things down to the very last hair and thread, and those who in their brushstrokes and colours change black into yellow, and turn a stallion into a mare, while saying: "It is the spiritual and not the material which is essential"[22]) should be considered as having just one theory and not possessing the whole truth. The paintings of this man are not of this [one-sided] kind. Men have eyes and ears, houses beams and rafters. He did not study what was not of the old masters, nor did he start before he had a firm opinion. If his paintings are compared to architecture, they are not of the same kind as flimsy constructions[23]) and shaky pillars. They are in type similar to the ancient imperial palaces of spring and autumn.[24]) The elements are assembled to perfection. Is not also this successful art?

The disposition of this man was honest and sincere. He did not like to participate in mundane life. Very seldom did he leave home. When officials asked for paintings, he did not grant their requests. He said: "In the future they will discard my paintings among their silk and money in a great confusion." When high provincial officials organized village wine drinking ceremonies, he once and forever refused [to participate], saying: "Is it not only because of my art that they want to

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have social intercourse with me?! If I associate with them, I shall be unable to reject whatever confused demand they might have!"

The house in which he lived was both low and narrow, but if someone said: "You should have the capacity to make it somewhat bigger", he answered: "My ambitions are not in that direction. It is not the lack of capacity that is the reason". He was also filled with filial piety. In his life he thrice cut his flesh to save his grandparents.[25]) When his mother was ill, his merits were particularly great. The virtuous of his time, as Du Qiong and his kind, were great friends of his.[26])

In the beginning of the Hongzhi era, when he was in his eighties, the belt and cap were conferred upon him by imperial decree. 12 years later, on a certain date in the 12th month of the *bingzhen* year [i.e. 1496], he died without illness. He had then lived through 92 springs and autumns [after Western reckoning he died at the age of 90]. He was born on a certain date of the 7th month in the *bingxu* year of the Yongle era [i.e. 1406]. His personal name was Xian. His *zi* was Jizhao. He belonged to the Wu county. His father's name was Xichang. His mother was born Wang. He married a certain woman, with whom he had 3 sons: Yan, Jie (or Yu) and Mi, and 3 daughters. He had one grandson, by name Kui, and 3 granddaughters. He had one great-grandson, by name Ci.

He was buried one day in the 9th month the next year. The tomb is in the Cao village in the Qiu district in Wu. Inscribed on it is: "As an artist he attained perfection. In his actions he was upright." This characterization [i.e. perfect and upright] could also be given him as a posthumous name.[27])

Zhou Chen's contemporary Li Xu (1466–1553) discusses Chen Xian in a short essay:

A Discussion on the Paintings of Chen Xian: A friend asked me about the famous painters of Wu. I said: "The old man of Xiangchen [i.e. Shen Zhou] is the best." He then wanted the painters enumerated, one by one. I mentioned Chen Xian. He started and said that he had never heard of this man. He even mentioned Wang Shizhen's [*Yiyuan] zhiyan* in support. [*Yiyuan zhiyan* does not mention Chen Xian]. I laughed and told him: "Mr. Chen in his time, even if famous for his paintings during 60 years, never liked to participate in mundane affairs. As a close friend he had only Du Qiong. Is it not really fitting [to mention him]? Today there is nobody who mentions him, but Zhu Yunming has written his epitaph and praises him highly. Do you just trust Wang Shizhen of today and not Zhu Yunming of the past?!"

My family possesses, handed down from earlier generations, "Lofty Pursuits of Leisure in a Pine Wood", which was painted on the 15th day in the 3rd month of the 3rd year of the Tianshun era [i.e. 1459]. I firmly consider this to be a painting of superior quality.

Zhou Chen lived in the same prefecture and town. They were neighbours, and thus he had the opportunity offering him a gift, asking to learn the trade. By the transmission of his methods (style), [Zhou Chen] became a famous man. Zhou Chen also transmitted the method: He transmitted it to Qiu Ying, and thus it can be said that one learned in person from Chen Xian while the other learned indirectly, but both belong to the Chen Xian [school].

His personal name was Xian, his *zi* was Jizhao. Dai Zhangfu's *Biji* ("Notes") records one Chen Xian Jizhao who served as an official in the Nanjing Ministry of Justice, and wrote "*Chao fenfeng yueju*". Thus there were at the same time two men by the name Chen Xian who even had the same *zi*, but I have never found out where the other man came from.[28])

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He Liangjun – somewhat prejudiced against professional artists – mentions Chen Xian briefly among the painters of the Imperial Academy:

Our dynasty [i.e. Ming] especially planned the Renzhi Hall[29]) to house the painters. Working in the Academy for a while were the following: . . . In landscape painting Shang Xi, Shi Rui (with the *hao* Lianchuan), Ma Shi, Li Zai, Ni Duan, Chen Xian Jizhao from Suzhou, Chong Li from Kuaiji, Wang E (with the *zi* Tingzhi) from Fenghua, and Zhu Duan from Peking,[30]) but the men of this group are painters of the second rank, and can only be classified as "skilled".[31])

Huashi huiyao says:

Chen Xian. *Zi:* Jizhao. *Hao:* Yunqiao. Of the Chenghua era. From Wu. First he studied landscape painting under Chen Gongfu – later he changed style and developed his own manner. Regarding his copies of old masters, it is difficult to judge the genuine from the forgeries.

Once, a man from his neighbourhood went to visit the Wutai Mt. [mountain in Shansi, famous for its Mañjuśri temple]. When he came back, he told Chen Xian about the landscape and demanded that he should paint it. Chen Xian had considerable problems with the sketch. When night came, he dreamt that a man lead him to a place and said: "This is Wutai Mt." Chen Xian saw from a distance the statue of Mañjuśri, the majestic architecture, the temples and the landscape, and whatever there might be of adornments. When he awoke, he immediately burnt incense. When he started to paint, it was most wonderful.

His son Yan[32]), *zi* Jinggao, *hao* Dongshan, was able to continue the trade of his father.[33])

From the above-quoted sources, we can extract a certain amount of information regarding Zhou Chen's teacher:

Chen Xian was a professional painter active in his native Suzhou as well as at the court in Peking. None of the sources gives further details regarding his stay in Peking. He Liangjun just mentions him among the painters in the Renzhi Palace (the palace used to house the Academy painters during Ming) and Zhu Yunming alludes only to the zenith in his career – the award of the belt and cap, which was an honour only conferred upon ranking officials.[34]) That Zhu Yunming avoids a detailed discussion of Chen Xian's career in the Imperial Academy might be explained by the social status of court painters: The Painting Academy offered the painters a modest career as officials. Their (and other court artisans') promotion as officials was often supported by the eunuchs, who liked to see the ranks of officials augmented with men of less orthodox Confucian background.[35]) The literary backgrounds of these artisan-officials were generally inferior to that of degree-holders. It seems, for example, to be beyond doubt that Chen Xian was not particularly skilled in literature and calligraphy – otherwise Zhu Yunming would not have had to point out the common origin of painting and writing. This kind of career was mostly considered somewhat irregular and was not held in high esteem by degree-holders (Zhu Yunming was a *juren*).

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It is impossible to tell how long Chen Xian stayed in Peking. It must have been around the periods Chenghua/Hongzhi if Zhu Yunming is correct in saying that he was awarded the belt and cap at the beginning of the Hongzhi era. This kind of award could be bestowed upon serving officials only, as the belt and cap were part of the officials' robe. Generally, calligraphers served a period of 10 years at court before they were appointed officials, and it seems reasonable to assume that the painters, too, had to serve for a certain period of time before being appointed.[36]) Anyway, Chen Xian was already 82 years old at the beginning of Hongzhi, and it seems impossible that he should have entered the Academy at that age. Thus, he probably entered the Academy sometime during the Chenghua era. He died in the 8th year of the Hongzhi era and can therefore not have lived for more than 8 years after being presented with a belt and cap – Zhu Yunming alleges 12 years, which is clearly impossible. It is not known whether or not he retired to Suzhou before his death – he was at any rate buried in the Wu-area.

When in Suzhou, he seems to have lived under modest circumstances. His position in society was probably somewhat ambiguous. On one hand, he was a professional painter and as such was looked upon as an artisan – Li Xu talks e.g. about his "trade" and not his art – and being an artisan meant a somewhat inferior status. On the other hand, he was a famous painter, and – if he retired to Suzhou after his court career, which is quite likely – he also enjoyed the status of a retired official for a period. His remarks, quoted by Zhu Yunming, show that a long life of dealing with his superiors on the social scale resulted in a certain cynical bitterness: Village drinking ceremonies were feasts sponsored by officials in honour of the old and respected members of the community. Chen Xian's refusal to participate shows that he realized that the honours granted him were only means of obtaining paintings, and behind all the courtesy he felt the contempt in which the artisan painter was held. His carefulness in dealing with officials was probably also a very wise measure – professional painters often met with unreasonable demands in their relations to officials – cf., for instance, Yan Song's harassment of Zhou Chen.

It seems at first somewhat surprising that Zhu Yunming should mention a friendship between Chen Xian and Du Qiong, as Chen Xian is not mentioned in Du Qiong's collected works. However, most of the written testimonies regarding friendship between Ming personalities are in the form of poetry written in response to, or expecting response from, other writers. Chen Xian's lack of skill in poetry may explain the silence regarding his name in Du's works.

It is today difficult to know in what style Chen Xian painted. His teacher – Chen Gongfu – seems to have worked in a style influenced by the Yuan dynasty painter Sheng Mao. *Huangming shuhua shi* by Liu Zhang[37]) says:

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Chen Gongfu. *Hao* Jiangcun jushi. From Wujiang [Suzhou prefecture]. He browsed in all kinds of books. In landscape painting he studied Sheng Mao. He also mastered portrait painting and miscellaneous types of works.[38])

Chen Gongfu was probably a professional painter, as portrait painting was a genre almost exclusively practiced by professionals. He had a younger brother – Chen Gongzuo – who also was a landscape painter.[39]) This may indicate an artisan family of painters. (Chen Xian, even if he had the same surname, was not of the same family. His family was registered in the county of Wu, while his teacher came from Wujiang.) Sheng Mao's style enjoyed a certain popularity among painters in the Suzhou-area during early Ming. The landscapes of this professional painter are technically brilliant, executed with quick and rather wet brushwork, sometimes giving a jagged impression. His texture strokes are very characteristic of his style, having a net-like pattern. One of the earliest painters in Suzhou working in his manner was probably Zhang Guan from Songjiang. There is a record that at the end of Yuan dynasty Zhang Guan travelled to Jiaxing and there came in contact with Wu Zhen and Sheng Mao: Under the influence of these painters, he changed his style, which originally had been in the Ma-Xia tradition. Later in life, Zhang Guan retired to Changzhou.[40]) The scholar painter Wang Fu was to a certain extent influenced by Sheng Mao.[41]) His contemporary Su Fu, an official from Suzhou, was known for his paintings in the style of Sheng Mao.[42]) Chen Gongfu was probably a contemporary of Wang Fu and Su Fu, as his pupil Chen Xian was born in 1406.

Huashi huiyao says that Chen Xian changed the style of his teacher and developed his own manner. If we judge from Zhu Yunming's description of Chen Xian's paintings, he seems to have painted in a meticulous manner with a great amount of detail. Probably he was also somewhat traditional in his approach, for Zhu Yunming says: "He did not study what was not of the old masters." It is thus possible that the revival of the Song Academy style in Suzhou was started by Chen Xian.

Chen Xian seems also to have been a skilled copyist of ancient paintings. *Huashi huiyao* puts it plainly: "Regarding his copies of old masters, it is difficult to judge the genuine from the forgeries." His dexterity in copying was to be continued by his successors in professional painting in Suzhou.

Chen Xian's greatest importance is in his position as a teacher. He taught his son Chen Yan, a long-since forgotten painter, and his neighbour Zhou Chen, who presented him with a gift in order to be accepted as a pupil. Zhou Chen probably worked for a certain period of time as an apprentice in his atelier and there many secrets of professional painting were handed down to him. It is only to be regretted that we cannot know at what time Zhou Chen studied painting with Chen Xian.

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Qiu Ying: Zhou Chen's Pupil

Zhou Chen had a regular teacher-pupil relationship with at least one painter, [43]) namely Qiu Ying. Qiu Ying later gained greater fame than that of his teacher, and in traditional Chinese art history he is named as one of the "four great masters of the Ming dynasty", the other three being Zhou Chen, Tang Yin, and Wen Zhengming.

Qiu Ying (*zi*: Shifu, *hao*: Shizhou) was originally from Taicang (Suzhou prefecture), but moved to the prefectural town of Suzhou.[44]) We do not know the exact dates of his life, but he must have died around 1552. As Dong Qichang mentions both him and Zhao Mengfu as examples of short-lived artists,[45]) we may assume that he was born at the end of the 15th century. Wen Zhaotong dates his birth to 1494, but he gives no relevant material to support this date.[46])

He came from very poor circumstances. His talent for painting was discovered by Zhou Chen.[47]) Wang Shizhen says:

> Qiu Ying, with *hao* Shizhou, came from very humble circumstances. He often practiced painting. Zhou Chen found him extraordinary and taught him.[48])

Also Peng Nian mentions Qiu Ying as one of Zhou Chen's pupils in his inscription on the "Offering of Tribute": "As a young man he (i.e. Qiu Ying) studied with Zhou Chen. He completely grasped his methods, and was especially skilled in copying."[49]) There is a tradition to the effect that Qiu Ying worked as a common artisan in lacquerware before he was discovered by Zhou Chen, [50]) I have been unable to trace the origin of this tradition.

We do not know very much about Qiu Ying's personal life, but we have some facts regarding the conditions under which he worked. I will go in some detail here, in order to throw some light on the conditions of professional painting in middle Ming Suzhou:

Qiu Ying was particularly famous as a copyist. In the Jiangnan-area, there were many fine collections of paintings and copying was very common. But even in these surroundings, Qiu Ying's eagerness seems to have been extraordinary. Wang Shizhen says: "Of the famous masters of the Tang and Song dynasty there were none he did not copy. His copies were always based on *fenben* (ancient drafts).[51]) His brushwork when copying could pass as genuine, but this was what Mi Fei considered unworthy of discussion."[52]) And He Liangjun says: "He was especially skilled in copying. When he applied colours on yellowish paper [i.e. paper resembling old paper], his brushwork could be mistaken for the genuine article."[53]) Such statements are of course found about many of the painters of the Ming dynasty, but in the case of Qiu Ying, there is also other evidence: The extant oeuvre by Qiu Ying includes an extremely large number of copies of high

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quality, particularly of Song masters, and in painting catalogues from the Ming and Qing dynasties, the number of copies is impressive.

Qiu Ying seems to have received very little formal education. Even the signatures on his paintings seem to have been written by other people in most cases. A recorded colophone by Guo Ji mentions a rumour that many of Qiu Ying's paintings were signed by Peng Nian.[54]) The signatures on Qiu Ying's extant paintings were probably written by men such as Peng Nian, Wen Peng, Wen Jia, and Xiang Yuanbian.[55])

Despite his lack of formal education, Qiu Ying seems to have cooperated closely with the literati of his time. First and foremost his mastery of the old styles seems to have commanded their respect. Qiu Ying was in contact with Wen Zhengming at least as early as 1517, when they tried to cooperate on a painting, though this attempt apparently failed. We find evidence of this cooperation in the painting "Xiang *jun* and Xiang *furen*"[56]) in the collection of the Palace Museum, Peking.[57]) In his own inscription on the painting from 1517, Wen Zhengming says only that he once saw a painting by Zhao Mengfu with this motif, and that Shen Zhou told him to copy it. He had then modestly declined, but when after 20 years he once again saw a painting with this motif, he felt the inspiration to paint. Trying to paint in the Zhao Mengfu tradition, he applied colours in the style of Qian Xuan (an elder contemporary of Zhao Mengfu, known for his paintings in the *qinglü*-mode). An inscription by Wang Shideng gives a more detailed account of the problems connected with the colouring: "When I was young, I was in the company of Wen Zhengming. When we began talking about this painting, he said that he had tried to get Qiu Ying to apply the colours, but after having changed them twice without satisfaction, he applied the colours himself ...". It seems that Wen Zhengming (at that time already 47 years old, but still at an early stage in his artistic development), lacked the courage to apply colours to a copy of a venerated master.[58]) He therefore wanted to entrust this task to the younger artist Qiu Ying, whom he perhaps considered had received a better training in this field than himself.

A record of a copy of "Lotus Society" by Li Gonglin (a literati painter of the Northern Song dynasty, famous for his paintings in the *baimiao* or "outline" technique) in the catalogue of the Qing imperial collection, shows the same two painters in cooperation just a couple of years later. The painting is signed: "In the autumn of the *gengzhen* year [i.e. 1520] Hengshan Wen Zhengming and Shizhou Qin Ying copied the "Lotus Society" by Li Gonglin."[59]) In an inscription by the Qianlong emperor the nature of the cooperation is specified: "Wen [Zhengming] made the landscape, Qiu [Ying] the figures."[60]) This seems reasonable as Wen Zhengming was not a specialist in figure painting.

Later cooperation between Wen Zhengming an Qiu Ying consisted mainly in the combination of Qiu Ying's paintings (mostly in the *gongbi* style) and Wen Zhengming's calligraphy (mostly written in the small regular script). The material

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is too abundant to discuss in detail here, and I will just mention one example: The "*Xiaojing tu*" ("Illustrations to the Classic of Filial Piety") in the NPM, Taipei. Here Wen Zhenming wrote the classic in small regular script below the illustrations by Qiu Ying (on the same piece of silk). In a colophone Wen Zhengming wrote:

This scroll is a copy by Qiu Ying of a painting Wang Duan.[61]) The purity and gracefulness of the figures, the refinement of the trees and stones, the awe-inspiring character of the pavilions create the three highest achievements in the art of painting, and Qiu Ying has achieved them all. My elder brother Guoguang treasured it and kept it in his collection.[62]) He took it out and showed it to me thrice. I understood his intention. Thus, when I copied the "Classic of Filial Piety", I only knew how to respectfully obey an order. However, did I not forget the blame to him who uses a dog's tail to mend the sable fur? The 16th day in the 2nd month of the *bingwu* year in the Jiajing era [i.e. 1546]. Wen Zhengming wrote this.[63])

Thus, the cooperation between Qiu Ying and Wen Zhengming in this scroll was not direct, but through the mediation of a collector. But when we look at the composition of the painting – with the lower half of the silk left vacant – it is obvious that he (or the commissioner) had in mind an inscription of the relevant text below the painting.

This mediation through a collector is rather common in the case of Qiu Ying. Other examples are "Zhao Mengfu Writing the Heart Sutra in Exchange for Tea", Cleveland Museum, and "Illustration to the two prose poems 'Zixu' and 'Shanglin'" (see discussion below).

Contemporary literati in Suzhou frequently wrote inscriptions on Qiu Ying's paintings. Here a couple of examples from the collections of the NPM, Taipei, will suffice: The handscroll "Garden Dwelling"[64]) has a colophone by the poet-calligrapher Wang Chong, dated 1532. Wang Chong, one of whose sons married Tang Yin's only daughter, seems to have been on intimate terms also with Qiu Ying.[65]) Here Qiu Ying has painted an illustration to two poems by Wang Xianchen at the request of the author himself.[66]) Wang Chong later wrote the two poems as a colophone – also by request. The other example is the two different versions of "The Mountains of the Immortals" (one titled "Yunxi xianguan", dated 1548, the other titled "Xianshan louge", dated 1550).[67]) On both hanging scrolls Lu Shidao (1511–74) – a member of the circle around Wen Zhengming – wrote in small regular script "Prose Poem to the Mountains of the Immortals".

There are also several examples of Qiu Ying making illustrations to works by famous calligraphers. A good example is the album "Qiu Ying's Illustrations to Traditional Texts written by Six Calligraphers of the Ming Dynasty", Freer Gallery. This album was made at the request of Zhou Tianqiu, who – after having collected several specimens of contemporary calligraphy – wanted Qiu Ying to do the illustrations.

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It was probably mainly Qiu Ying's great versatility in copying which brought him into close contact with some of the art collectors in the Jiangnan-area. His relationship to a certain Chen Guan is documented in Peng Nian's above-mentioned inscription on Qiu's "Tribute-bearers":

This hanscroll was painted in the home of Mr. Chen with the *hao* Huaiyun [or: from Huaiyun]. Mr. Chen, with the personal name Guan, was from Changzhou [Suzhou]. He was a good friend of Qiu Ying, and housed him in a mountain cottage. The years passed, without any of the two men pressing or urging the other, and thus he [i.e. Chen Guan] obtained paintings... But were it not for Mr. Chen's deep and genuine love of the ancients, how could this [kind of wonderful painting] be achieved?[68])

The most famous of the collectors of middle Ming was Xiang Yuanbian [1525–1590] from Jiaxing [Northern Zhejiang]. From a wealthy family, he managed to enlarge the family fortune further, and used this wealth to accumulate an art-collection of amazing size. He never made a catalogue of his collection, but we can imagine the quality and quantity of it, as he quite generously placed his seals on all his possessions. The use of collectors' seals started centuries before Xiang Yuanbian, but the excessive use of seals, somtimes damaging the original effect of the painting, can be said to have been initiated by him.[69])

Xiang Yuanbian, born in 1525, must have been several decades younger than Qiu Ying. Even as a very young man he was in contact with the painter and became a kind of patron to him. Their relationship probably lasted until the death of Qiu Ying. *Daguan lu* says the following about their relationship:

Xiang Yuanbian, whose collection was the most outstanding in the world, housed and paid [Qiu Ying] for more than 10 years. Famous paintings of all ages caused [Qiu Ying's paingings] to be imbued [with the spirit of the ancients]. Consequently, he gained fame as one of the "four great masters", together with Shen, Tang, and Wen ...[70])

There is a colophone by the grandson of Xiang Yuanbian – Xiang Shengbiao – on a now lost painting, recorded in *Daguan lu,* which states, rather surprisingly, that Qiu Ying stayed as a guest in Xiang Yuanbian home for 30–40 years: "My grandfather Xiang Yuanbian housed [Qiu Ying] for more than 30–40 years, and Qiu Ying inspected more than 1000 paintings from the Song and Yuan dynasties."[71]) Since we know that Qiu Ying died around 1552 and Xiang Yuanbian was born in 1525, this is obviously impossible.

The first trace we have of a contact between Qiu and Xiang dates from the spring of 1547. It is a set of album leaves in the NPM, Taipei – "Six Scenes in Song and Yuan Styles" – painted for Xiang Yuanbian, when Xiang was a young man of 22.[72]) Even in this kind of copying we can see the high quality of Qiu Ying's brushwork, with subtle nuances, variations, and improvisations. The authenticity of the paintings is further strengthened by the many seals of Xiang Yuanbian.

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On each album leaf there is an inscription in small running script, written by Xiang Yuanbian. The most important information is given in a colophone on a separate leaf: "Six scenes from the Song and Yuan dynasties. Qiu Ying Shizhou copied the famous old works as curios for Xiang Yuanbian. The copying was done in the Boya Hall in the spring of the 26th year of the Jiajing era [i.e. 1547]. They were mounted in the 2nd month of spring in the *gengwu* year of the Longqing era [i.e. 1570]."[73]) From this we know that Qiu Ying was staying in Xiang Yuanbian's home when he copied the old paintings.

Later from the same year we have a hanging scroll also made for Xiang Yuanbian: "Wax-plum *(Chimonanthus fragrans)* and Narcissus", NPM, Taipei. The refined brushwork and colouring leave no doubt as to who is the master. The authenticity is also confirmed by the genuine seals of Xiang Yuanbian. In the lower right corner Xiang Yuanbian has signed the picture for Qiu Ying with the following words: "In the 2nd month of winter in the *dingwei* year of the Jiajing era of the Ming-dynasty [i.e. 1547]: Qiu Ying Shifu made this for Xiang Yuanbian." Below, we find the seals of Qiu Ying. The combination of Xiang Yuanbian's inscription and Qiu Ying's seals shows that the two men were together when the painting was signed. Probably, Qiu Ying was a guest in Xiang Yuanbian's house.[74])

In the Palace Museum in Peking there is a hanging scroll by Qiu Ying, depicting a thatched hut among peach trees. This painting was commissioned by Xiang Yuanbian and dedicated to his elder brother Xiang Yuanqi.[75]) Qiu Ying also painted (a now lost) portrait of Xiang Yuanbian himself among peach trees. The portrait, which showed Xiang en face, while playing chess surrounded by antiquities, is recorded in *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu*. The painting, probably painted in Xiang's home, is signed: "Making a little portrait of Xiang Yuanbian, I depicted the peach blossoms of the 10.000 trees in the Jade Grotto in spring time."[76])

Of all the other paintings by Qiu Ying once in the Xiang collection, I will here discuss only one – the famous handscroll "Spring in the Han-palace", NPM, Taipei. This painting too is signed by Xiang Yuanbian for Qiu Ying. As a colophone, Xiang Yanbian has written: "Forever to be kept by my descendants. The price was 200 [pieces of] gold."[77]) Even taking into consideration the long time and enormous patience it must have taken to paint this long scroll (filled as it with the most exquisite details of architecture, furniture, textiles, etc.), the price must still have been amazingly high for a work by a living artist.

From the above-quoted material, we get a picture of the relationship between the professional painter Qiu Ying and the collector Xiang Yuanbian. Qiu Ying stayed for long periods in Xiang's home, where he copied ancient paintings in the collections of Xiang. He also did original compositions. Xiang, in addition to housing the painter, also paid in cash. This arrangement probably gave both parties advantages. The painter had access to his host's collections in addition to security in economic matters and protection against harassment by officials.

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Staying in the home of a wealthy family also offered the opportunity to make useful acquaintances. To the collector it was clearly advantageous to have his treasures copied in his own home. With the painter close at hand, he could also more easily influence the final result. During the periods when he was playing the host, he would virtually have a monopoly of the artist's production.

Qiu Ying seems also to have worked for Zhou Fenglai, the younger son of a prominent family from Kunshan,[78]) probably identical with the Zhou Liuguan, for whom Qiu Ying made the scroll "Illustration to the two prose poems 'Zixu' and 'Shanglin'". This painting, which Qiu Ying did in his thirties, was a masterpiece, on which Qiu worked for several years.[79]) It later came into the possession of Yan Song. In the catalogue of the Yan Song collection, Wen Jia records that Zhou Liuguan had awarded Qiu Ying one hundred pieces of gold.[80])

In addition to his drawings, Qiu Ying also made drawings for wood-cuts and book-illustrations. This was a common type of commission for professional painters in those days, when printing was a flourishing industry in Suzhou.[81])

Zhou Chen and Tang Yin

Tang Yin[82]) was born in 1470. His father was probably the owner of a wine shop. He was a precocious child and early showed literary talent. At the age of about 15, he became a friend of Wen Zhengming, Zhu Yunming, and the poet and connoisseur Du Mu (1459–1525). In 1485, Wen Zhengming's father Wen Lin, a prominent scholar-official, retired from office for a while and returned to his home-town Suzhou. Impressed by Tang Yin's literary talents, he took him under his protection. Through Wen Lin, Tang Yin also came into contact with Shen Zhou and Wu Kuan (1435–1504), a famous statesman and writer and Shen Zhou's best friend.

In 1498, Tang Yin came first in the provincial examination (for the *juren* degree) in Nanjing. But, when he went to Peking for the metropolitan examination the following year, he was involved in an examination scandal and disgraced. He spent a period in prison, and, when finally released, he was offered a low position as a clerk – an offer he declined. He went back to Suzhou and earned his livelihood by selling pieces of literature, calligraphy, and painting. The scandal had completely destroyed his hopes for a bright future. Soon after his home-coming, his second wife left him (his first wife had died at a tender age). Tang Yin complained that he had been ostracized after the scandal, but his close friends, such as Wen Zhengming and Zhu Yunming, continued to support him. The enmity between Tang Yin and Du Mu started in this period – Tang Yin suspected Du Mu of being the person who had started the rumours which resulted in the examination trial.

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In 1514 Prince Chenhao of Ning invited Tang Yin and Wen Zhengming to court. The cautious Wen Zhengming declined, whereas Tang Yin accepted and went to the court in Nanchang. Soon he realized that the prince was planning a revolt. Afraid of being involved, he consciously acted the fool and so disgusted the prince that he succeeded in being sent back to Suzhou. After his soujourn to Nanchang, Tang Yin seems to have somewhat isolated himself from many of the Suzhou literati. He was interested in Buddhism and spent much of his time in temples and monasteries.

On his death in 1524, Tang Yin had no sons and only one daughter, married to the son of his close friend Wang Chong, the famous poet and calligrapher.

Tang Yin was a versatile artist. His paintings were inspired by many different masters, and were influenced most deeply by the style of Zhou Chen. The question of who was Tang Yin's teacher in painting is, however, a most intriguing issue:

One tradition claims that he learnt painting from Shen Zhou. The source of this tradition is Wang Zhideng, who says in his biography of Shen Zhou:

> The famous men of that time, such as Tang Yin and Wen Bi [i.e. Wen Zhengming] all came out from this dragon's gate [i.e. were Shen Zhou's students]. The meeting of these brilliant minds frequently found its expression.[83])

It is difficult to know how literally we are to interpret this kind of eulogy. If Tang Yin studied painting under Shen Zhou, it must have been in his youth – before the examination scandal. His good friend Wen Zhengming started to study painting under Shen Zhou when he was about 20 years old.[84]) It was in his late teens/early twenties that he had his closest contacts with the older generation of the Suzhou literati. Also indicating an eventual early date is the fact that Tang Yin's extant oeuvre, which can mostly be dated from the age of 30 until his death, is little influenced by Shen Zhou's style.[85])

There is another tradition which claims that Zhou Chen was Tang Yin's teacher in painting. The sources which explicitly state such a relationship are of a late origin. The earliest is *Wusheng shi shi* from the beginning of the Qing dynasty: "Tang Yin learned the methods of painting from Zhou Chen."[86]) *Hongdou shuguan shuhuaji* records an inscription by Tang Yin on a set of four album leaves "Lofty Paintings of Five Sages": "My teacher Zhou Chen's paintings can pass as genuine works by Li Tang. Though I, [Tang] Yin, studied under this master for years, I am ashamed [to confess that] I have not attained one tiny fraction of his art."[87]) This painting catalogue is, however, of later date – much later than *Wusheng shi shi* (its preface is dated 1890). Since we cannot judge the authenticity of the album, we cannot place credence on this record.

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Early sources such as *Tuhui baojian xubian* and *Guochao Wujun danqing zhi* do *not* mention that Zhou Chen was Tang Yin's teacher. On the contrary *Guochao Wujun danqing zhi* says – as discussed above – that Tang Yin was a pupil of Shen Zhou. In Zhou Chen's biography in *Xu Wu xianxian zan,* both Tang Yin and Qiu Ying are mentioned. While it is explicitly stated that Qiu Ying was his pupil, nothing to this effect is said about Tang Yin.

In traditional Chinese society, with its dominant Confucian ideology, the pupil was expected to show his teacher deep veneration. A pupil almost always spoke to and of his teacher in prescribed deferential terms. The people associated with him would therefore be left in no doubt whether there existed an established teacher-pupil relationship beween two men. Besides, the pupil of a professional painter would serve as an apprentice in his studio for some time, which would make the relationship still clearer to those around him. If we accept Jiang Zhaoshen's hypothesis that Tang Yin did not become seriously interested in Zhou Chen's art until *after* the examination scandal, this kind of relationship would be very awkward.[88]) Despite the scandal, Tang Yin was still a scholar of the *juren* degree, while Zhou Chen was merely a professional painter. A regular student-relationship would have been embarrassing. Nor is a regular teacher-pupil relationship more plausible if we suppose that Tang Yin became interested in Zhou Chen's art *before* the scandal. At that time, Tang Yin was a promising youth, associating freely with the leading literati of Suzhou and with bright hopes for the future. It seems unlikely that he would have chosen to be a regular student in Zhou Chen's atelier at that time.

On the other hand, some of the most reliable sources testify to Tang Yin's deep admiration of Zhou Chen's paintings. Tang Yin himself says in his colophone to Zhou Chen's handscroll "Zhong Kui Expelling Demons": "When inspecting this painting with its depictions of the supernatural, I bow in deep-felt admiration, and recall how Master Zhou harmonizes his colours and masters the pure and white. His wide mind embraces the vastness of the universe, His painting gains power from his deep understanding of the nether-world." One of the most important statements regarding the character of the relationship between these two painters is found in Wen Jia's colophone on the scroll "Beggars and Street Characters", where he says: "Earlier, each time Tang Yin saw a painting by Zhou Chen, he said in praise 'Master Zhou!' and thus he acknowledged the unattainable wonders of Zhou Chen's art. Regarding this set of paintings, I believe that no one else could have done it. To merit the admiration of Tang Yin in such a way, is this something easily achieved?" Wen Jia, son of Tang Yin's good friend Wen Zhengming, must be considered a very reliable source. In this way, he clearly attests to Tang Yin's deep admiration of Zhou Chen's art, but does not state a direct pupil-relationship.

Wang Shizhen indicates the same type of relationship: "Every time Tang Yin received a commission, he followed the style of Zhou Chen and started to paint in an untrammelled mood."

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It thus seems clear that Tang Yin deeply admired Zhou Chen's art, but that he was never a regular student in his studio.

There is also a tradition that Zhou Chen have served as a ghost-painter for Tang Yin. This tradition is found in its earliest form in He Liangjun's writings. He Liangjun came into the circle of Suzhou literati rather late. In his Zhou Chen-biography he reports rumours of Zhou Chen's "ghost-paintings", starting with the words "I heard that..." and ending with "Perhaps such a thing may have happened". He Liangjun's rather sceptical attitude towards this gossip indicates that he did not consider his source of information very reliable. If he had got his information from a member of the Wen-family, he would certainly have accepted the story without question.

What He Liangjun reports rather hesitantly, the later *Wusheng shi shi* is cocksure about: "When Tang Yin became famous as a painter and was sometimes too lazy to move his brush, he simply commissioned Zhou Chen to paint in his stead. Thus many of the paintings today transmitted under the name of Tang Yin were executed by Zhou. Those who have [discerning] eyes can distinguish between them."[89]) Thus, the question mark of the early source is left out in the later quotation.

What He Liangjun retold was perhaps simply one of the many popular anecdotes regarding Tang Yin, one of the most legendary figures in Suzhou. The stories told and retold in Suzhou regarding Tang Yin and his friends are countless. Tang became the hero in the romance "*San xiao yin yuan*". The romance has nothing to do with Tang Yin's actual life. In fact, it is a story borrowed from a Yuan-play, where the famous Ming-painter's name has been substituted for the name of the original hero.

The people of Suzhou loved to tell anecdotes and jokes about forged paintings and writings. Anecdotes of this kind are mainly a mixture of fact and fiction, their veracity is difficult to judge. We find these rumours even in connection with the venerated master Shen Zhou. *Tuhui baojian xubian* printed as early as 1519, says: " ... Because there were so many people demanding his (i.e. Shen Zhou's) paintings that one hand not possibly could yield them, he made his students copy his works to satisfy the demand, and therefore his genuine works are few."[90])

From what we now know about the conditions of Tang Yin's life, it sounds rather improbable that he should regularly have commissioned Zhou Chen to paint in his name. Jiang Zhaoshen has shown that, contrary to popular imagination, Tang Yin's economic situation was rather strained most of his life – and that at late as in 1518, when he was at the height of his popularity as a painter, his finances were in a critical condition.[91]) He argues that the painting "trade" of Tang Yin simply was not so successful financially that he should have wished to

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make regular use of one of the leading professionals of the day to fulfill his commissions.

When we examine the extant oeuvre by Tang Yin, we find some paintings extremely similar in composition and brushwork to those by Zhou Chen. Most of these also include trats not found in Zhou Chen's oeuvre, and the similarities may just as well be the result of influence as of "ghost-painting". This problem will be discussed further in connection with Zhou Chen's paintings.

Zhou Chen's Status and his Relations to Contemporaries

We do not know much about the conditions under which Zhou Chen made and sold his paintings. In his extant oeuvre, there are few dedications and long inscriptions. This might indicate in many cases that there was no personal relationship between Zhou Chen and his clients – that to a certain extent Zhou Chen produced paintings to be sold on an anonymous market.

But among all the landscapes there must have been paintings made on commission. Certainly his "garden paintings", which all seem to be lost and are now known merely from catalogue entries, must have been commissioned. It was almost a fad in Suzhou during the 16th century to have one's garden portrayed as a manifestation of one's personality. Wen Zhengming and Qiu Ying excelled in the genre,[92]) but Zhou Chen also worked in it. We have quite detailed descriptions of a few of these paintings. The paintings being lost, we have to accept the catalogue entries at their face value:

In *Pingsheng zhuangguan*, Zhou Chen's depiction of the Bili Garden is recorded.[93]) The Bili Garden was the dwelling of Xu Jin (*jinshi* 1505) – son-in-law of the famous official Wang Ao, another of Shen Zhou's close friends. The scroll was inscribed by several prominent personalities, amongst others Wen Zhengming.

In the Qing imperial collections there were at least two "garden paintings" by Zhou Chen. One handscroll depicted the Jin Creek Garden.[94]) The colophones on the painting were written by local dignitaries and by famous literati such as Wang Chong and Yue Dai. The inscriptions praise the beauty of this lotus-garden, owned by a certain Zheng Wenqing from Hangzhou. This Zheng Wenqing is otherwise unknown and may have been a wealthy merchant resident in Suzhou.

The other garden painting in the imperial collections was a rural scene from Zheng Shanfu's dwelling near the Chang-gate in Suzhou.[95]) Zheng Shanfu was an official who had served for a period as a Vice Minister in the Nanjing Ministry of Personnel. This painting, too, bears an inscription by Wang Chong.

Zhou Chen must also have carried out other kinds of commissions, such as the landscape from the Wuyi Mountains.

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Once he portrayed one of his patrons – the merchant Zhang Zhun. This Zhang Zhun came from a well-known family in Changzhou (Suzhou). His father was Zhang Quan, author of the above-mentioned *Wuzhong renwu zhi*. The Zhang-family came to prominence with Zhang Zhun's grandsons: The brothers Fengyi, Xianyi, and Yanyi were all famous writers and known as "The three Zhang's". At the time of Zhang Zhun, the family were merchants, but participated in the cultural life of Suzhou.[96]) Wang Shizhen praises Zhang Zhun as a collector and connoisseur. He must have known the members of the literati circles in Suzhou: Wen Zhengming wrote the inscription on the portrait by Zhou Chen, Tang Yin made another portrait of Zhang Zhun,[97]) and also did a painting of "The Western Garden" for him. Zhou Chen's portrait of Zhang Zhun is now lost, but it is mentioned twice by Wang Shizhen:

Post-script to Zhou Chen's portrait of Zhang Zhun: Zhou Chen made a painting of the old man Zhang Zhun, and Wen Zhengming wrote an inscription on it. It was praised as the "Two unique achievements". Unexpectedly, the painting was transformed in the same way as those by Gu Kaizhi.[98]) Nearly 50 years passed before one of the old man's grandsons, Youyu (i.e. Zhang Xianyi), managed to buy it. The whole family praised and admired it. Zhang Fengyi was extremely sorry that a painting of "The Western Garden",[99]) which Tang Yin had painted for his grandfather, was lost and could not be regained.[100])

Zhou Chen's painting of the old man Zhang: When Mr. Zhang Zhun lived, he was famous for his love of antiquities, as were Ni Zan and Gu Dehui (Gu Ying) of the preceding dynasty (i.e. Yuan).[101]) When I now examine the portrait by Zhou Chen, I am firmly convinced that Zhang Zhun's collection can be compared to those of Ni Zan and Gu Ying. But I have not heard that these two gentlemen had a grandson like Zhang Fengyi, who added a *fu* (on the portrait) in memory of his ancestor. In this, Ni and Gu fall behind Zhang.[102])

Zhou Chen was not known as a portrait painter – I suspect he made this portrait casually in connection with other paintings, in the same way as Qiu Ying painted the portrait of his patron Xiang Yuanbian.

We have seen that Qiu Ying was housed for long periods by his various patrons. We lack records in this respect of Zhou Chen, but we know that he was housed at least once by an art collector, although the circumstances must have made the stay less of a pleasure. It was with the greedy and ill-reputed statesman Yan Song who abused his power in the Nanjing Ministry of Personnel to force Zhou Chen to go to Nanjing to paint.[103])

We can not determine precisely in which year the Yan Song incident took place, but we can narrow it down more closely than to Wang Shizhen's "in the beginning of the Jiajing era" (A.D. 1522 was the first year of the Jiajing era). Yan Song served in the Nanjing Ministry of Personnel for two periods – first as a Vice Minister of the Left, c. 1531, then as the *shangshu* (minister), 1533–36.[104]) Yan Song was thus the head of the Ministry of Personnel for about 3 years. It was probably during this last period he ordered Zhou Chen to Nanjing. As a Vice-

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minister, he probably lacked the power to do this kind of thing, especially if we consider that he held this position for one year at the most. As early as one month after he had assumed the position as a Vice Minister, there came a proposal to transfer him to another ministry. Thus, it seems most likely that Zhou Chen was forced to go to Nanjing sometimes between 1533 and 1536.

In the Ming dynasty there existed a gulf between officials and the rest of the population. Officials enjoyed many privileges. We have an abundance of examples of officials abusing their power, and there was no difference in this respect between officials in the central and local administration. Professional painters seem to have been much harassed by officials. The Zhe-school painter Zhang Lu met a misfortune similar to that of Zhou Chen, again according to Wang Shizhen. While Zhang Lu was in Peking, an official, angry that Zhang had not come to pay his respects, enticed the painter to his house and had his left hand put in a clamp, tightening it to torture him. Meanwhile, Zhang Lu was forced to paint a picture with his right hand. Zhang Lu was freed by chance: A high official happened to pass by and begged his release. The same story is told about Dai Jin in later sources.[105]) Later Suzhou painters such as Ju Jie and Li Shida were also troubled by officials: Ju Jie failed to obey a call from Sun Long, the eunuch in charge of the imperial silk factory in Suzhou. Sun Long is then said to have tried to ruin the whole family.[106]) Li Shida once refused to kneel in the presence of the same Sun Long, and had to go into hiding to avoid arrest.[107])

When Yan Song lost imperial favour, his family property was confiscated. A list of his possessions was compiled.[108]) This list included 22 scrolls by Zhou Chen.[109]) We do not know if any of these scrolls were painted when Zhou Chen was in Nanjing: Yan Song collected paintings with great zeal all his life and it is amazing how many works by contemporary artists he managed to get hold of. But the homogeneity of the recorded Zhou Chen paintings in his collection – the many seasonal paintings and copies of Sheng Mao – indicates that most of the paintings were done at Yan Song's command in Nanjing. These paintings were exactly of the kind which was much in demand in a large household such as that of Yan Song.

The time when Zhou Chen lived was one of the most flourishing in Suzhou's cultural life. Leading poets and artists lived here and were in close contact with each other, exchanging poems, writing inscriptions on each other' paintings, etc. Much of this material was later collected, edited and printed. But except for Tang Yin's inscriptions (see appendix), there is silence regarding Zhou Chen. In the collected works of Gu Lin (1476–1545), I have found some poems made for paintings by Zhou Chen. Gu Lin, from Suzhou and serving most of his life in nearby Nanjing, had close contacts with literati circles in Suzhou. In an inscription on a now lost painting, he states that the painting was made for him by Zhou Chen, and describes how the painting evoke the interest of his close friend – the Nanjing painter and writer Xu Lin:

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Zhou Chen painted this big screen with an ink landscape for me. Xu Lin particularly praised its wonderful qualities and spontaneously thanked him. Lofty is the sacred Mt. Hua with its three holy peaks [110])/Clouds and mists are thick around the thatched hut of the settlers/The splashing waterfall and the tall and straight trees are vividly painted/The Taoist resembles those one meets in the depths of the forest/Mr. Zhou did this most wonderful/When Ranxian (i.e. Xu Lin) saw it, he wanted to cry out in admiration/Even if we do not have Meihuaweng (i.e. Wu Zhen) among us any more/Who can say that Zhong (Zi) qi [111]) is absent among men? [112])

It seems reasonable that Zhou Chen's art aroused more interest among literati in Nanjing than among those in Suzhou – the Yuan ideal of literati painting was not so deeply implanted there. The quotation clearly shows, however, that Gu Lin and Zhou Chen were not on intimate terms: Gu Lin does not use the *zi* or *hao* of Zhou Chen – once he uses his surname and personal name, once his surname with the suffix "*sheng*" ("Mr.").

We have records in later painting catalogues of famous literati's inscriptions on paintings by Zhou Chen (cf. Appendix) – part of this material is probably genuine. Mostly it seems that these inscriptions were done at the request of the owner of the scroll, and not as a result of a close relationship between the painter and the calligrapher. This is probably also the case with the preserved fan with an inscription by Du Mu.

This might indicate that the patrons of Zhou Chen's art were not found mainly among the intellectual elite of Suzhou. While his art must have appealed to a broad segment of the city's well-to-do bourgois class, it may not have suited the taste of the leading intellectuals of the day.

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PAINTINGS

When dealing with the history of Chinese painting, we meet the problem that many artists were working simultaneously in different modes. The Chinese had a deeply rooted respect for everything ancient. Not least the history of Ming painting manifests a fervent interest in ancient styles. This interest was clearly expressed in what we might call the "modal" approach to art: By painting in the mode of an old master, the Ming artist paid his homage to this master — to his style and to his personality. In this approach, there was further an element of self-consciousness — the Ming-painter added something of his own personality to the interpretation of the old mode.

This very sophisticated approach to tradition was first found among the literati painters. "The scholar painters, having begun by working in the styles of the various Yüan masters, came to use them as alternative expressive modes, chosen according to the nature of the subject or the mood of the artist."[1]) The approach is clearly manifest in Shen Zhou's and Wen Zhengming's paintings. This attitude of simultaneous identification with and self-assertion against tradition does not seem to have been so established in the art of professional painters at that time.

The reason why I have chosen to make a broad classification of Zhou Chen's paintings according to their modes is partly in order to get a better understanding of his attitude towards ancient and contemporary painting styles. The main purpose of my classification is, however, purely pragmatical: Very few of Zhou Chen's paintings are dated. Furthermore, we have no idea of what style he inherited from his teacher. When trying to find a feasible pattern for Zhou Chen's development, it is convenient to have relatively consistent groups of paintings with comparable features.

The peculiar form and material of the folding fans make it difficult to correlate the fans to the scrolls and the album leaves. Besides, none of Zhou Chen's fans are dated. I have therefore chosen to treat the folding fans under a separate heading.

The construction of a chronological framework for Zhou Chen's development is, admittedly, connected with certain fallacies. An artist's development does not always follow a predictable course — earlier and later features might exist side by side for a long period. Besides, in some cases I have perhaps paid too much attention to similarities in details — agreement in form does not automatically infer agreement in time: Zhou Chen was a professional painter, not seldom working to a routine, and he vould sometimes resort to an old formula when depicting a certain object. Let this be a warning against taking the suggested chronological framework too literally! When I propose that some paintings were done "during the same period", this "period" might have extended over a fairly long time, from 4–5 years to 10–15 years.

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(1) LANDSCAPES IN THE MODES OF THE SONG ACADEMY

Mountainscapes with Pines in the Li-Liu Mode.

The Li-Liu mode is named after the style of the two Song painters, Li Tang and Liu Songnian.

Li Tang was a painter active at court during the last few years of Northern Song and the very first years of Southern Song. He entered the Academy during the reign of Song Huizong (1101–1125) and became the leading landscape artist of the Academy when the court moved to Hangzhou. He was famous for his tightly organized mountainscapes with heavy texture strokes, and also for his paintings of buffaloes.[2]) The hanging scroll "Whispering Pines in the Mountains", NPM, Taipei, (pl. 10) represents his style while still in the north: Surging water, a narrow path diagonally to the picture plane, and some small clouds somewhat open up the tightly organized composition and create a clearly defined recession in space. The texture strokes of the rocks and cliffs are of the *fupi*-type — a kind of texture stroke commonly associated with the mode of Li Tang: Short and broad strokes squeezed with a rather stiff brush held in i *cefeng* position.

This type of stroke is well suited for rendering the faceted surface of weather-beaten rocks and cliffs. The style of Li Tang's mountainscapes after he moved to Hangzhou is a much debated issue — space does not permit a discussion here.[3])

Li Tang had some followers at the end of his life and in the period immediately after his death.[4]) These artists worked in a style transitional between that of Li Tang and the style of the Ma-Xia school. Their more open spatial constructions anticipate later development. The tightly organized structures of their mountainscapes, however, link them closer to the manner of Li Tang than to that of Ma-Xia. In some of their paintings we find a decorative quality, with details meticulously drawn in the *gongbi* manner, as in the handscroll "Auspicious Omens in the Life of Song Gaozong" by Xiao Zhao in the Tianjin Museum. This type of painting must have suited courtly taste very well.

Decorative tendencies seem to have come fully to the fore in the art of *Liu Songnian*. Liu entered the Imperial Painting Academy in the Chunxi era (1174–1189) and became a *daizhao* in the Academy in the Shaoxi era (1190–1194). His teacher was Zhang Xunli, recorded as a painter in the Li Tang tradition, who also mastered the *qinglü* mode of Zhao Boju.[5]) Max Loehr has characterized Liu Songnian's style: "Apparently his strength lay in genre and figure painting, and he seems to have cultivated a very elaborate, somewhat antiquated style."[6]) The fame of Liu Songnian was soon overshadowed by that of his younger contemporary Ma Yuan, and he had few followers of consequence.

During the flourishing of the Ma-Xia school, the firmly structured mountainscapes of the Li Tang mode lost in popularity. *Tuhui baojian* mentions a few

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minor artists active in this tradition during late Southern Song,[7]) and we have some works such as the album leaf "A Studio by a Willow-shaded Brook", Palace Museum, Peking,[8]) which, although obviously influenced by Xia Gui in its brushwork, still show many traces of the landscape style practiced at court in early Southern Song. This type of painting seems, however, to have been rather exceptional during late Southern Song, and during Yuan and early Ming the style of Li Tang's mountainscapes seems merely to have evoked historical interest.

The revival of the Li Tang mode seems to have been initiated in Suzhou during middle Ming. It is today impossible to tell who was instrumental in bringing about this revival. It may have been Zhou Chen's teacher Chen Xian. His connections with the literati circles of Suzhou might have gained him access to the fine private collections in the Jiangnan area. He might also have seen examples of Li Tang's art when working in the Imperial Academy. It might also have been Zhou Chen who initiated this revival. From his practice as a copyist he would have gained a deep knowledge of Song painting.

When examening Zhou Chen's many mountainscapes in the Li Tang mode seen in relation to the earlier Li Tang tradition, I found that the hanging scroll "The Clear Lake" (pl. 1) is the painting which conforms most closely to the Song style: Its interlocked cliff formations remind one strongly of the rocks in the Li Tang paintings "Whisperings Pines in the Mountains", (pl. 10) and "Small Scene of Rivers and Mountains" (pl 11 a) and also of the rocks in the hanging scroll "Mansions in the Mountains" by Li Tang's pupil Xiao Zhao,[9]) (all paintings in the NPM, Taipei). The upright pines in the "The Clear Lake" with their white roots cropping up, the texture of the bark, rendered with small circles, are clearly of the same type as those in the foreground of the "Whispering Pines". Their form is similar to that of the pines in the album-leaf "Villa by a Pine Path", NPM, Taipei,[10]) by Yan Ciping, one of the painters working in the Li Tang mode during early Southern Song.[11]) Max Loehr refers to the manner of painting foliage in "The Clear Lake" as being in the Fan Kuan mode: "It [i.e. "The Clear Lake"] is interesting as an instance of the 'small axe-chip' rocks à la Li Tang and the foliage and trunks à la Fan K'uan".[12]) The manner of painting deciduous trees is, however, more or less the same in Fan Kuan's and Li Tang's paintings.[13]) Even the figure painting with its light, carefully drawn lines is akin to that found in Song landscape painting. "The Clear Lake" thus has its stylistic ancestors clearly in Song paintings in the Li Tang mode.

However, compared to the tightly organized structures of the Song Li Tang school, "The Clear Lake" seems loose in its composition. It suffers from ambiguity in its spatial relationships and lacks in concentration. In spite of its meticulous brushwork, it seems twodimensional when compared to the Song-works. The *fupi* strokes are not always regular, there is a frequent use of additional short horizontal and vertical strokes to enliven the surface. This is a device never found necessary by the Song painters, nor by the mature Zhou

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Chen. In other details too the brushwork is weak in this painting, compared with the Song paintings as well as with other paintings by Zhou: The strokes lack force, the artist has not fully controlled the contrasts between light and dark, the foliage seems flat, etc. This indicates that it was done in an early phase of Zhou Chen's career.

Five more genuine hanging scrolls by Zhou in the Li Tang mode have been preserved: "Enjoying a Secluded Life in a Mountain Dwelling" (pl. 2), the unsigned "A Gathering of Philosophers", "Men in a Pavilion on the Steep Banks of a Mountain Stream" (pl. 4), "Visiting a Mountain Dweller" (pl. 3) and "Peach Blossom Valley" (pl. 5).[14] The structures of these scrolls have much in common: Tall pines grow from rocks in the foreground, in the middle ground we find the main scene with human figures and architecture, in the background rise steep mountains.

Among these hanging scrolls we have the only dated Zhou Chen painting in the Li Tang mode: The very late "Peach Blossom Valley" from 1533. Clearly different from this painting, both in terms of brushwork and the rendering of space, are "Enjoying a Secluded Life" and "A Gathering of Philosophers". These two paintings have many features in common with the hanging landscape scrolls by Tang Yin, and I believe they must have been done in the phase of Zhou Chen's career when he and Tang Yin were closely associated. "Visiting a Mountain Dweller" and "Men in a Pavilion" I believe must have been done in the years between the period of close relationship to Tang Yin and the very late "Peach Blossom Valley".

"Enjoying a Secluded Life" (pl. 2) is the hanging scroll most similar in style to the Song Li Tang school. Its composition shares significant characteristics with "Whispering Pines" by Li Tang (pl. 10): A symmetric, tripartite foreground with diagonals leading into the middle ground, and a background of steep mountains.

The poor quality of the reproduction does not allow a final judgement regarding the brushwork. It seems beyond doubt, however, that the texture strokes of the foreground rocks in the Zhou Chen painting are very similar to the *fupi* in "Whispering Pines". But there are also significant differences between the Song and the Ming scrolls. The clouds in Li Tang's paintings have been changed into mist by Zhou Chen, thus somewhat obscuring the spatial relationships. The pines are rendered in a less realistic manner, and lack the serenity of the pines in the Li Tang painting. Zhou Chen's experiments with different types of brushwork, contrasting the short *xiao fupi* strokes in the left and middle foreground with the longer texture strokes in the cliffs to the left and the middle right, show that he was searching for new brush formulae. Different from the Song painting is also the larger scale of the figure painting and architecture: The silent nature depicted by Li Tang has become a backdrop for social intercourse.

In "A Gathering of Philosophers", whose attribution to Zhou Chen will be discussed in the catalogue, the composition is modified in a significant manner:

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Instead of a step by step recession in space — with fore-, middle- and background in parallel layers — we find here a bipartite composition. The left half is dominated by vertical lines, the right half by horizontals. This structural pattern might have been influenced by the compositions of Zhe-painters such as Dai Jin and Wu Wei, who showed a preference for compositions with an overhanging cliff in one half of the painting contrasted to the soft horizontals in the other half.[15]) In "A Gathering of Philosophers", the curving pines serve as an intermediate link between the horizontals and verticals, creating a more sophisticated rhythm. The architecture is here reduced to one, albeit dominating, building. The composition thus seems more unified than that in "Enjoying a Secluded Life". The different types of brushwork are also more harmoniously integrated, the forceful texture strokes in the foreground boulder are finely set against the washes in the cliffs.

In this painting Zhou Chen thus has moved far from the Li Tang tradition of Song: the tight composition of Li Tang's "Whispering Pines" has been changed into a more open structure, attention to nature has been replaced by attention to brushwork, the carefully drawn *xiao fupi* of Li Tang has been replaced by rhythmic curving lines and broad contrasting planes of dark and light washes. The focussing on social intercourse, already manifest in "Enjoying a Secluded Life", is still more conspicuous here. In this painting, the artist has succeeded in finding a Ming formula for the Li Tang mode.

Jiang Zhaoshen has pointed out the relationship between the hanging scroll "Visiting a Mountain Dweller" (pl. 3) in Shanghai and the two almost identical landscapes with pines by Tang Yin: "Landscape", NPM, Taipei (pl. 12) and "Exchanging Reminiscences in a Thatched Cottage", coll. unknown.[16]) In my opinion, "Enjoying a Secluded Life" and "A Gathering of Philosophers" are even more similar to the Tang Yin paintings than is "Visiting a Mountain Dweller". The compositions of "A Gathering of Philosophers" and the Tang Yin paintings might all be seen as developments of the structure of "Enjoying a Secluded Life", and represent a simplification and concentration of the structure in that painting — a development towards a bipartite composition of the Zhe-school type, where dark and light planes are substituted for the more finely textured surfaces of the Song Li Tang type.

The similarity in details between "A Gathering of Philosophers" and the Tang Yin paintings is easily perceptible: The steep mountains, done in washes and with loosely added *taidian,* the rendering of the cliffs, the manner of painting an arriving servant in the lower corner (this detail is omitted in one version of the Tang Yin paintings), all tell of a close relationship between these paintings. Jiang Zhaoshen dates the Tang Yin scroll in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, to 1504.[17]) This date is of course very approximate, but there can be no doubt that this is a painting which fits in very well among the relatively early works by Tang Yin, and it seems improbable that it could have been done later than the first

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decade of the 16th century. I suspect that the Tang Yin paintings and "A Gathering of Philosophers" are more or less contemporary, while "Enjoying a Secluded Life" is a somewhat earlier work. ("The Clear Lake", in a style which has left no trace in Tang Yin's art at all, was probably done a fairly long time before "Enjoying a Secluded Life".)

In the scroll "Visiting a Mountain Dweller" in Shanghai (pl. 3), Zhou Chen has re-introduced the tripartite foreground. This massive foreground with its meticulously drawn *xiao fupi* clearly alludes to the Li Tang style of Song. The composition has a distinct rhythm with its compact foreground, an almost empty, mist-filled middle ground, and a background filled with impressive mountains. The massive foreground and the horizontal division of space into zones modify the effect of the bipartite structure of the middle ground and distance, and create a more complex compositional pattern than those we have previously met with.

The brushwork is of high quality, showing the mature artist. The details are more *gongbi* than usual. The architecture is elaborately drawn. The figures are painted with a fine brush and in more detail than was Zhou's habit, though the types are basically the same as those found in his other paintings (compare, for example, the scholar in front of the gate to the one on the bridge in "The Northern Sea"). The brushwork of the *taihu* stone and the *bajiao* trees is extremely soft and delicate, resembling Song Academy paintings. The low railing in the right foreground shows Zhou Chen's interest in depicting the details of wooden structures, while the leaves of the trees and shrubbery are drawn in a more stylized manner. The brushwork in the middle ground is very soft and less detailed, the leaves here are done with *hujiaodian* ("pepper-dot strokes"), reminding of Wen Zhengming, while the trails of mist are reminiscent of the Zhao Lingran mode. The tall, dominant pines have a more decorative character than those in the previous pictures. We see in this painting indications of a new trend in Zhou Chen's art, a development towards more deliberate brushwork, richer details and more decorative effects.

In the exceptionally big scroll in Boston — "Men in a Pavilion on the Steep Bank of a Mountain -Stream" (pl. 4), the new trend has become clearly manifest: The blooming shrubbery, the ornate architecture, the gallant horseman, all show the new interest in decorative effects. The pines are painted with slow, deliberate brushstrokes strongly reminiscent of the brushwork in the very late "Peach Blossom Valley" (pl. 5). The forms of the pines in the two paintings are almost identical. The precariously balanced foreground rock has grown to unreasonable proportions — it looks like a garden rock blown up and placed out in the landscape. The texture strokes of this rock strongly resemble those found in "Peach Blossom Valley": In the *xiao fupi,* Zhou Chen has exaggerated the contrast between light and dark, enhancing the decorative quality by creating a two-dimensional, patternlike effect.

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The basic structure of this painting is still simple, despite its seemingly elaborate character. We find once more the contrast between a soft riverside landscape and tall, steep mountains — the contrast between the horizontals in the right-hand part and the verticals in the left, the slanting foreground rock bringing life into this basically bipartite structure.

Even in "Peach Blossom Valley", from the very last years of Zhou Chen's life, an anecdotal quality is clearly pronounced. The story of the fisherman in Arcadia is told in great detail. We see his boat moored outside the grotto, while he himself is shown in the Arcadian village: His oar laid down, he is chatting with the inhabitants of this paradise. The same narrative quality is found in Qiu Ying's depictions of the motif from the period.

The typical structure of Zhou Chen's hanging scrolls in the Li Tang mode, with foreground rocks and a bipartite background, is found here too, though somewhat modified. The foreground has become a mighty barrier in front of the main scene — an expressive illustration of the long road the fisherman had travelled to reach Peach Blossom Valley. Zhou Chen shows the isolation of the Arcadian village by placing it in the middle ground at quite a distance from the viewer. The bipartite division of the background can here be seen as symbolic of the content of the poem: The steep, inhospitable mountain landscape to the right makes one think of the harsh outer world to which the fisherman belonged. The fertile fields and softly curving hills of the verdant landscape to the left are connected with the Arcadian Peach Blossom Valley. In this late work, Zhou Chen has thus skilfully exploited the spatial structure in order to illustrate the literary motif.

Since I have had an opportunity of studying this painting only from reproductions of very poor quality, it is difficult to judge the brushwork. The strokes seem to have been done more slowly and deliberately than in Zhou Chen's early paintings, and we find a somewhat decorative quality. The pines are, as mentioned, painted in a manner almost identical to that of the pines of "Men in a Pavilion", and also the patch-like *xiao fupi* resembles the texture strokes in "Men in a Pavilion", while the figure painting is akin to that of "Cockfight".

Among the *handscrolls* in the Li Tang mode, "Visiting a Friend among Mountain Streams and Pines" and "Northern Sea" (pl. 6-9) have a certain thematic likeness, both depicting pavilions amidst mountains, overlooking a seaside landscape. They seem, however, to date from different phases of Zhou Chen's development.

In "Visiting a Friend" the tightly organized cliffs are painted i soft and light brushwork. Zhou Chen has combined the use of *xiao fupi* with long, slightly curving strokes, rendering the softly rounded forms of the cliffs and boulders with an effect quite similar to that of the distant mountains in "Enjoying a Secluded Life" (pl. 2). The long, softly modelling strokes, uniformly done all over

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the picture plane, resemble the brushwork in many of Tang Yin's landscapes. The shrubbery is lightly painted, in a manner akin to that we found in "A Gathering of Philosophers". The pines, too, are similar in these two paintings, although they are somewhat more meticulously drawn here: It is as if Zhou Chen were paying full attention to the natural growth of the pines and their branches when he did "Visiting a Friend", while he had acquired a routine for painting pines when he did "Gathering". The attendant is shown in almost the same position as those in "Gathering" and Tang Yin's "Exchanging Reminiscences in a Thatched Cottage" (pl. 12). "Visiting a Friend" might well have been painted at approximately the same time as "A Gathering of Philosophers", or perhaps a little earlier, i.e. during the period when the art of Zhou Chen and Tang Yin bore a close resemblance.

The "Northern Sea" (pl. 6-9) is in much a further elaboration of the theme in the "Visiting a Friend", where the peaceful marshy landscape has been replaced by an ocean in full storm. The stormy ocean is rendered in a masterly manner. The painter has effectively contrasted the linear quality of the water to the painterly quality of the sky. The waves are meticulously drawn, the three-dimensional quality brought forth basically through the linework (like a pencil-drawing), the crests of the waves are done with a decorative play of lines. The sky is done in soft washes, suggesting the heavy clouds of stormy weather. The seashore cliffs are rendered with a frequent use of *xiao fupi*, with great attention to the three-dimensional quality of the rocks. The contrast between dark and light planes has been played down, and Zhou Chen comes quite close to Song manner, although the contour lines are much freer than in the corresponding Song paintings. The elaborate architecture is done without recourse to technical devices, demonstrating Zhou Chen's mastery of brushwork. The pine stems and branches are drawn with firm contour lines, quite similar to the brushwork in "Visiting a Mountaing Dweller" (pl. 3). The shrubbery, too, is of the same type as that in "Visiting a Mountain Dweller" — done in a more stylized manner than in "Visiting a Friend". The similarities between "Visiting a Mountain Dweller" and "The Northern Sea" might indicate that the two paintings were done at approximately the same time. The fact that the texture strokes in cliffs and boulders are different in the two scrolls can be explained by their different format: The handscroll was intended to be scrutinized slowly and then stored away, the hanging scroll was to be hung in a dominant position in a lofty hall.

I thus suggest that Zhou Chen's mountainscapes in the Li-Liu mode developed according to the following pattern: From leaning heavily on Song prototypes, he gradually developed a style of freer brushwork and more open structures, partly influenced by the Zhe-painters. In his later paintings the decorative and narrative elements seem to have become more prevalent, and the affinities to Song painting once more became conspicuous. In this late phase, however, the Song element were recreated in a stylized manner. In these late paintings we also find more

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complicated structures than in the paintings of Zhou's middle phase.

It is uncertain whether the decorative aspect of Zhou Chen's art had any direct connections with the art of Liu Songnian, but it is not impossible. Ming art historians took some interest in Liu Songnian, and some of his works were well-known in Jiangnan in middle Ming.[18])

Countryside Scenes with Willows

Among Song Academy paintings we find many depictions of peaceful rural life, village and market scenes etc. A special genre of rural scenes were the "buffalo paintings". In Song, the ox and buffalo were symbols of earth, as the horse was a symbol of heaven.[19]) The buffalo motif was naturally popular in the Academy, which served the ruler of earth. The Song buffalo paintings were mostly bucolic scenes, enhancing the harmonious relationship between landscape, man, and animal.

Li Tang was a well-known painter of water buffaloes. *Tuhui baojian* says: "Li Tang ... was furthermore accomplished in painting buffaloes."[20] *Huaji buyi* says: "His (i.e. Li Tang's) landscape and figure paintings are most accomplished. His paintings of buffaloes come next in quality."[21]) The painting catalogues abound in buffalo-paintings by Li Tang,[22]) and Sirén lists several buffalo-paintings by him, some admittedly of quite questionable origin.[23])

Li Tang's followers Yan Ciping and Yan Ciyu were likewise well-known buffalo-painters. It seems to have been a family tradition — for their father Yan Zhong, who was a *daizhao* in the Painting Academy at the same time as Li Tang, was also a specialist in buffalo-paintings.[24]) Especially Yan Ciping's buffaloes were famous, and the famous handscroll "Herding Buffaloes during the Four Seasons" (in Nanjing Museum) has been preserved.[25])

Li Tang and his followers were by no means the only painters in this genre — a great number of Song album leaves (mostly anonymous) depicting pastoral sceneries with herds and buffaloes below willow trees have also been preserved.

Zhou Chen did not specialize in buffalo paintings as such, but he did some countryside scenes depicting folk-life below lofty willow trees—pictures whose mood is closely related to the bucolic scenes of Song. These paintings are not so numerous as his mountainscapes in the Li-Liu mode, and none of them are dated.

Most similar to Song paintings is the album leaf "Fields in Summer Rain", Palace Museum, Peking. Its picturesque motif, with two farmers in raincoats and bamboo hats running home below storm-tossed willows, is a variation on the theme "Returning Home in Wind and Rain" — a common motif in Song buffalo-paintings. The scene is viewed from a bird's-eye perspective. This is a kind of perspective which is found with some frequency in Song album leaves, but is quite uncommon in Ming painting. The brushwork is meticulous and soft, done

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with a fine brush. The small, light strokes in the greenery are strongly reminiscent of the Song brushwork.

The motif of the hanging scroll "Riverside Leisure" (pl. 13) is less anecdotal than that found in the other paintings in this group showing a peaceful riverside landscape with a flute-player below willow-trees. In this scroll we find several features typical of the mountainscapes in the Li Tang mode: The structure with a lower part dominated by horizontals and an upper part dominated by steep "host-and-guest" mountains is a structure often found in paintings in the Li Tang mode. The amazingly coarse contour-lines in the distant mountains are also found in the famous "Whispering Pines" by Li Tang (pl. 10). The manner of painting trees in the distance is the same as that in Li Tang's mountainscapes.

Zhou Chen also incorporated elements from the Zhe-school in this painting. The brushwork is clearly related to the Zhe-painters: The texture strokes are coarser and wetter than usual in Zhou Chen's oeuvre. The *da fupi* strokes and broad washes have many parallels in landscape paintings by Zhe-painters.

Also in the hanging scroll "Leisurely Watching Children Playing with Willow-flowers" (pl. 14) we find influence from the Zhe-school, mainly in the composition: The landscape setting is reduced to rudimentary fragments, organized in an approximately bipartite structure.

The motif of this hanging scroll is once more strongly related to Song Academy painting. It is an illustration to the Song poem "Wakening up in Early Summer". These kinds of illustrations were popular in the Song Painting Academy, where regularly competitions were held to find the most apt type of illustration to given poetical phrases.

While figure painting and the manner of painting willows are quite similar to those in Song paintings, the brushwork is generally crisper and freer than that of Song, Zhou Chen's being drawn with a rather dry brush with a fine, sharp point. The painting is meticulously painted, but the irregular, undulating contour-line, the freely scribbled texture strokes and casually painted *taidian* are clearly different from Song painting.[26]) This type of brushwork was continued by Qiu Ying and led to perfection in paintings such as "Watching the Waterfall from a Pine-shaded Pavilion"(pl. 60).

There are many similarities between the details of "Leisurely Watching Children" and "Riverside Leisure": In both paintings the foliage is painted with small, curving dots, rendering the feathery lightness of the greenery of early summer. The figure painting is also strikingly similar — the scholars might have been portraits of the same man. The difference in texture strokes might, however, indicate a lapse of time between the execution of the two paintings.

In the album leaf "Cockfight" (pl. 15) we find a more dynamic compositional pattern: The elements are basically organized in horizontal layers, with a step-by-step movement into space, but the composition is given new vigour by the mighty curves of the tall, bare willow-trees, the trees forming an obliquely placed arcade

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running from the lower left to the upper right-hand corner. The gently sloping hill harmoniously unites the lines of the scenery.

We find in this painting a clear anecdotal trend. The painter has taken great interest in the depiction of village life: The thatched houses with decaying white-wash and simple furniture, the little boy, who is both frightened by the fighting roosters and very, very curious, the geese squeaking happily together in the little pond.

In the brushwork there are some illusionistic effects, such as in the texture-strokes of the mud-walls, which are done with *cha*-strokes (i.e. a very dry brush squeezed against the paper). On the whole, however, brushwork has a very free and light quality, and in the branches there is a complex interplay of lines of a quality quite different from what we found in the album leaf "Fields in Summer Rain". The depiction of an idyllic countryside landscape reminds one of the very late "Peach Blossom Valley" (pl. 5), as does the genre scene. "Cockfight" may therefore be a late work.

In countryside landscapes with willows we find some of the same trends as in the mountainscapes with pines in the Li Tang mode: Some paintings are quite similar to Song in quality, in some paintings we find elements from the Zhe-school introduced, and other paintings represent a more personal interpretation of Song anecdotal motifs. The material of this group of paintings is, however, too scarce to allow the construction of a chronological sequence. Compared to the mountainscapes, the narrative quality is more prevalent in this group: It is here a basic quality, while it only gradually came to the fore in the mountainscapes. Both groups of paintings show strong affinities to Song painting, but while the mountainscapes show a close relationship to the hanging scrolls of Song, the countryside scenes are more closely related to the album leaves.

Appendix: Copy of Zhao Gan's "Wading the River in Autumn Mist" (pl. 16). Zhou Chen must have made quite a number of copies of scrolls from the Five Dynasties and Song, but the only known extant copy is that of Zhao Gan's hanging scroll "Wading the River in Autumn Mist". Being a rather faithful copy of a Five Dynasties original, the scroll is not easy to date in Zhou Chen's career.

Zhao Gan was a painter from Nanjing, active at the court of Li Houzhu (reign.per. 961—75)—the art-loving last emperor of the Southern Tang dynasty. *Xuanhe huapu* records nine paintings by Zhao Gan in the imperial collections of the Song dynasty, and says:

> Zhao Gan from Jiangnan excelled in painting mountains and forests, water and rocks. He served as a student in the Painting Academy of the false ruler Li Yu [i.e. Li Houzhu] and all his paintings are thus from the landscape of Jiangnan. Often when depicting pavilions and temples, ships and boats, waterside villages and fishing markets, he would scatter bamboo and flowers around to enhance the scenery. Even when in the bustling crowds of courts and markets, as soon as you look at one of his paintings you will imagine that you are by the river, lifting your garments to wade the stream, and making inquiries for a boat between the shores.[27])

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Among the nine paintings recorded in the *Xuanhe huapu,* there is one scroll called "Wading the River in Autumn Mist". The history of this painting after Northern Song is not well documented, but several forgeries were probably in circulation.[28]) The Qing collector Liang Zhangju, who had in his possession what he believed to be the original, wrote:

"Wading the River in Autumn Mist" by Zhao Gan: Hanging scroll. Paper. "Wading the River in Autumn Mist" is the most famous of Zhao Gan's paintings and also the one which has been forged most frequently. This specimen has been in the collections of Xiang Yuanbian. It is inscribed by Dong Qichang, who was never careless in matters of connoisseurship. We can thus rely on his judgement. Dong Qichang's inscription is in the upper part. The first line reads: "Wading the River in Autumn by Zhao Gan of the Southern Tang dynasty." Then he wrote: I have seen several versions of 'Wading the River in Autumn' by Zhao Gan, which were all forgeries. Xiang Zifan Zuili[29]) showed me this painting. The clouds and mist fill the picture. The figures are depicted in a lively manner. Only when I saw *this* painting, did I understand that the Southern Song traditions of Li Tang, Liu Songnian, Ma Yuan and Xia Gui all had their origin here." It also bears the imperial seal of Xuanhe. There should be no doubt that this is the original...[30])

In the NPM, Taipei, there are two hanging scrolls entitled "Wading the River in Autumn Mist" (pl. 17–18), both signed with Zhao Gan's name and both of much later date. In spite of their different sizes (one is tall and narrow, the other short and broad), they clearly go back to the same prototype—a prototype which seems to be closely related to that of Zhou Chen. There are, however, some significant differences between the Zhou Chen copy on one hand, and the two forgeries in Taipei on the other: The most spectacular is the form of the foreground cliff—in the NPM-versions we find a low, overhanging cliff, while we in the Zhou Chen painting find a much taller rock, whose inner and outer contour-lines form a curve upwards, a curve continued in the lines of the storm-bent trees. The bridge to the right of the foreground cliff, which we find in both the NPM-versions, is omitted in the Zhou Chen picture. The waterfall is to the right of the cliff in the Taipei-paintings, while it is found above the cliff in the centre of the scroll in the Zhou Chen version. The withered tree on the left-hand river bank, found in all three versions, has a taller stem and longer branches in the Zhou Chen copy. The expanse of water separating the main scene from the beholder is larger in the Zhou Chen painting than in the two NPM-copies. There is also a greater distance between the travellers in the two forgeries than in Zhou Chen's copy, where the figures are linked closely together. (One of the forgeries in the NPM lacks two figures, at a place where the painting has been repaired.) The distant mountains in the Zhou Chen painting have softer forms than those in the NPM-forgeries.

The question is whether the two forgeries are fakes based on the Zhou Chen copy, or whether they are based on another prototype, closer to the original by Zhao Gan (or on the original itself). Lacking the Zhao Gan original, the question is difficult to answer with certainty. I would like to point out, however, that the

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tall, narrow format of the Zhou Chen painting is typical of Ming hanging scrolls, its height being almost three times its width. This would have been an exceptional size in Southern Tang. If we examine the differences in structure between the Zhou Chen scroll and the two Taipei-versions, we find that the above-mentioned differences make the composition of the Zhou Chen painting more suited to a tall and narrow format. Thus it would seem that the two NPM-copies are versions based on an early prototype, while Zhou Chen has changed the composition somewhat in his version, in order to suit the new format.

The different versions have chosen to stress different qualities in Zhao Gan's brushwork. The two Taipei-versions, both much inferior in their brushwork, have heavy contour-lines done with uneven pressure. This manner of rendering hills and slopes is quite similar to what we find in very early landscape paintings. Although the brushwork in these fakes is stereotype and lifeless, and later mannerisms have crept in, the over-all effect, nevertheless, shows some outer likeness to Five Dynasties landscapes. Zhou Chen has given greater stress to the soft qualities in Zhao Gan's landscape painting, to contrast it effectively to the crisp brushwork in the human figures and rippled water. The distant mountains in the Zhou Chen painting seem quite archaic, while the painters of the Taipei-versions seem to have been unable to abandon their usual brushwork and have therefore failed to capture the essential quality of the early manner of depicting mountains.

The term for a copy used by Zhou Chen in his inscription is "*mo*", a term which indicates a close copy. In spite of this, Zhou seems to have taken certain liberties. His painting, however, still manifests a deep respect for the original: He moved his brush more lightly and carefully than was his custom, lifting it from the paper at short intervals. The short strokes correspond to Zhao Gan's brushwork—it is also a brushwork suiting the respectful copyist, offering as it does possibilities for frequent comparisons with the original.

When we compare Zhou Chen's version of "Wading the River" with Zhao Gan's "Early Snow on the River", (pl. 19) it is obvious that Zhou strove to capture the essential qualities of the earlier master's style. There is a striking resemblance between the figure painting in these two works: The men in their struggle against nature are observed with keen interest and depicted with sympathy as well as with a touch of humour. The short, sturdy men are shown in characteristic poses. Special attention is paid to their facial expression, something rarely seen in later Chinese painting. In the drawing of the gowns, we find simplicity of line and lightness of touch combined with a realistic approach.

Zhao Gan's style might have influenced Zhou Chen to some extent—from him Zhou might have learned to observe human physiognomy. Zhao Gan's art might also have been a source of inspiration for Zhou Chen to do the "Beggars and Street Characters", and Zhao Gan's depictions of folk-life in a landscape setting might have influenced Zhou's genre paintings.

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(2) *LANDSCAPES STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY THE ZHE-STYLE*

It seems as if only the Suzhou area had a firmly founded literati painting tradition at the beginning of Ming. In the rest of China, early and middle Ming meant a new flourishing for professional painting. Officials as well as the growing bourgoisie in the prosperous cities provided a great deal of patronage for professional painting.

In *Peking,* the court and high officials were important commissioners. In *Nanjing,* which was an important centre of the trade and administration during the whole period, officials at the Auxiliary Court and wealthy merchants were important patrons of art. Also the old capital of Southern Song, *Hangzhou,* was an important commercial centre, with many painters active here and in neighbouring Ningbo.

The different localities and diversified patronage should have produced a variety af painting styles, but early and middle Ming professional paintings seem surprisingly homogeneous. This might partly be explained by the similar ideological outlook of the ruling classes of middle Ming, and partly by the great geographical mobility of both officials and merchants. Similarities in the architectural structure of the upper class dwelling quarters might also have contributed to the homogeneity in style: Tall halls for the reception of visitors demanded large scrolls of a rather flashy appearance. The function of these paintings must have contributed to the homogeneity in iconography. Nondescript motifs were preferred—seasonal landscapes, auspicious birds and flowers, Confucian didactic motifs. In somewhat less demand were paintings in meticulous brushwork. This latter type of painting, which had been continually made in China at least from the Sui-Tang period, suited a certain demand for decorative paintings, especially in the handscroll format. I have, however, not included this type of painting in the definition of the Zhe-style: Even if these paintings were also done mostly by professionals, they were based on different stylistic traditions than most of the professional paintings of early and middle Ming, and there seems to have been a particular category of painters specializing in this type of painting.

Professional painting first started to flourish in the Xuande era—the first Ming emperors had taken little interest in the fine arts, but in the Xuande era the dynastic power was firmly established and the economy prospered. The Xuande emperor was a painter himself, and invited many painters to court. The most influential artist of the period, Dai Jin, never succeeded in entering the Painting Academy. His style, however, made a deep impact on professional painters all over China, and he came to be considered as the founder of the Zhe-style of painting. He was born in 1388 in Hangzhou, where the traditions of the Ma-Xia school were still strong among professionals.[31]) By utilizing brush-conventions of the Ma-Xia school, and even the traditions of the Li-Guo school,[32]) Dai Jin created a new style of landscape painting, well suited to the demands of Ming.

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The professional painter Sheng Mao of the Yuan dynasty also exerted a deep influence on this style.[33]) Characteristic of this new style is a vigorous and nervous, almost jagged, brushwork, and an extensive use of ink washes with rather large areas left untouched, whereby an effect of highlights and dark shadows is obtained without overly stressing the three-dimensional quality. In the mature style of Dai Jin we find two basically different compositional patterns: A central type of composition, dominated by a "host-mountain" (*zhushan*), and a vertically divided type of structure, where one half of the picture is dominated by horizontal lines, the other by verticals. These basically very simple compositional patterns are enlivened by precariously balanced elements: Mountain ranges wind in *longmo* patterns, cliffs and peaks are overhanging or strongly tilted, giving the composition a dynamic rhythm.

At this time most of the leading professionals, both inside and outside court, were southerners, with a dominance of painters from the Zhejiang-Fujian region, the centre of the the Ma-Xia tradition. These painters easily adapted Dai Jin's version of this tradition, and his style therefore became very influential on contemporary professional art. At court, landscape painters such as Li Zai (from Fujian), Ni Duan (from Hangzhou), and Ma Shi (from Jiading in Jiangsu) were clearly influenced by Dai Jin.

The art of Wu Wei (1459–1508)—a contemporary of Zhou Chen—introduced a new phase in the Zhe-school style of painting. Active partly at court, partly in Nanjing,[34]) he further consolidated the position of the Zhe-style in the two capitals of China. Famous for his landscape and figure paintings, he did paintings in fine lines as well as in a bold and unrestrained manner. Most typical are his paintings in very coarse and free brushwork. His brushwork is heavier and more aggressive than that of Dai Jin, the contrasts between light and dark still stronger. His forms almost burst from the picture plane, his cuttings at the picture frame are most daring. Wu Wei was a painter deeply admired by his contemporararies, and his style had many followers. Among th more important foolwers was Zhang Lu (1464?–1538?), a landscape and figure painter active in Nanjing.

It seems natural that the style of these painters, which represented the major trend in professional art in the 15th century, should influence the art of Zhou Chen. In his oeuvre we actually find influence from the early Ming phase (represented by Dai Jin's style) as well as from the middle Ming phase (represented by Wu Wei's style).

The discussion of the Zhou Chen paintings associated with the Zhe-style is likewise marred by the lack of dated works. Only three dated paintings are preserved, all from a late phase: "Playing Chess by a Window below Pines" (pl. 21) from 1526, "Calling on a Friend" from 1531 (pl. 22), and "Poetical Thoughts among Pines and Streams (pl. 24) from 1534. These late paintings clearly show the influence of the early phase of the Zhe-school:

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In "Playing Chess", the light and nervous, almost sketchy, brushwork is a continuation of that found in Dai Jin's paintings. The texture strokes have a scribbled quality of more linear value than we generally find in Dai Jin's work, their pattern reminds one of the net-pattern (*wangcun*) variety typical of Sheng Mao's art. As discussed above, Zhou Chen's distant stylistic heritage embodied the style of this Yuan professional: Chen Gongfu—Chen Xian's teacher—painted in the manner of Sheng Mao. In "Playing Chess", the Yuan style is filtered through many other influences, and the general impression of the painting resembles the style of Dai Jin more than that of Sheng Mao.

In this late painting, the narrative qualities are conspicuous. The painting abounds in details such as the rendering of kitchen utensils and decayed whitewash. As discussed in connection with Zhou Chen's mountainscapes in the Li Tang mode, the narrative vein seems more prevalent in Zhou Chen's later than in his earlier paintings. This type of elaborate depiction is almost absent in Tang Yin's art, while the wealth of details in Qiu Ying's works made a critic comment that Qiu "when painting snake, could not refrain from adding the feet".[35])

The hanging scroll "Calling on a Friend" (pl. 22) dated 1531 has the same light and sketchy brushwork as "Playing Chess". We find a striking resemblance in the rendering of details—architecture, trees, pebbles are rendered in almost exact the same manner. This painting too clearly reveals Dai Jin's influence. The material (ink with light touches of colour on silk) is typical of the late Zhe-painters, but the brushwork demonstrates Zhou Chen's affinities to the early master of this school. If we compare this work with the earlier "Farewell at the Brushwood Gate" (pl. 27—see discussion below), we see how in later years Zhou Chen abandoned the dark and aggressive brushwork of the Wu Wei type and chose the lighter and slimmer strokes typical of Dai Jin. The compactness in the rendering of space—a trait very prominent in the "Farewell"—is no longer seen. Instead we find a widely spaced landscape where the main scene is viewed from a little distance. Although clearly in the style of the Zhe-school, the painting also includes traits from other stylistical traditions: In the dry texture strokes we find traces of Zhou Chen's long routine in the Li Tang tradition, the manner of depicting trees on the distant mountain peaks is reminiscent of the style of the great Song-painter Fan Kuan.

The anecdotal character, so typical for Zhou Chen's later works, is also prominent here: The cursive brushwork has not made Zhou Chen forget to depict the structure of the bridge, the decay of the whitewash, the carving on the bed. The figures are painted in a meticulous manner. Judging by the paintings displayed at the Zhe-school exhibition in the Palace Museum, Peking, in 1980, it seems that in historical motifs the figures in landscapes tended to be done in a more *gongbi* manner than was otherwise usual in paintings by the Zhe-masters—as if to allude to former stylistic ideals. Here the meticulous depiction of the figures fits well into the narrative quality of the landscape.

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"Poetical Thoughts among Pines and Streams" (pl. 24) is from the very last period of Zhou Chen's life. In his inscription, Zhou wrote: "Dongcun Zhou Chen imitated the style of Jing'an [i.e. Dai Jin]". The expression "imitate a style" (*fang biyi*) means that a painting should be interpreted as a free improvisation on the style of a certain painter, *not* that the painting is a slavish copy of a given painting. Details in this painting bearing a striking allusion to Dai Jin's style are the tall pines, so different from those in Zhou Chen's other paintings, but very similar to those we find in Dai Jin's works. The manner of depicting mountains with trees in the distance also refers to Dai Jin's style. A painting by Dai Jin offering close parallels to "Poetical Thoughts" is "The Hermit Xu You Resting by a Stream", in the Cleveland Museum (pl. 26). Zhou Chen's painting seems in much to be only a re-organization of the elements found here. Compared to the Dai Jin painting, the composition of "Poetical Thoughts" seems lighter and more spacious, with increased stress on the vertical elements.

It is difficult to judge how the brushwork in this painting was originally related to that of Dai Jin, as the painting is now in an extremely damaged condition (see discussion in the catalogue), but judging by its present state, it seem that Zhou Chen has fully captured the nervous elegance of Dai Jin's style.

Outer evidence indicates that the hanging scroll "Listening to the Mountain Stream", Boston (pl. 20), is a painting from a relatively early phase of Zhou Chen's career. According to the inscription, the scroll was done for a man called "Yungao". This was the *zi* of the official Sheng Chang from Wujiang (Suzhou prefecture).[36]) Sheng Chang, who was awarded the *jinshi* degree in 1451, must have been born around 1430.[37]) He made a career as an official in Guangdong and Sichuan, became famous for his bravery as well as for his somewhat unorthodox methods, and became prefect of Xuzhou before he retired from office and settled down in his home town.[38]) Sheng Chang must have been around 70 years of age at the turn of the century, and it seems reasonable to believe that this painting was done at latest during the first or the beginning of the second decade of the 16th century.

There is a striking resemblance between the rendering of space in "Listening to the Mountain Stream" and Dai Jin's "Verdant Hills in Spring", Shanghai (pl. 25). But in the Zhou Chen painting the spatial relationship between the foreground and the misty middleground is not quite convincingly rendered. It is as if the artist did not yet fully command the style. Compared to Zhou's later works in the style of Dai Jin, "Listening to the Mountain Stream" has a more painterly quality, and is also much simpler, with a complete lack of details. There is a certain likeness between this scroll and some early works by Tang Yin: The manner of rendering the tall, steep mountains in the distance is for example more or less identical with that found in the two versions of Tang's "Exchanging Reminiscences in a Thatched Cottage" (pl. 12).

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In Zhou Chen's extant oeuvre, there are several paintings which are deeply influenced by the later Zhe-painters, i.e. by Wu Wei and his followers. All of them are, however, undated.

The hanging scroll "Secluded Dwelling in a Snowy Landscape" is interesting as an example of influence from Dai Jin as well as the later masters of the Zhe-school: The painting shows a snowscape with a thatched hut below tall trees and has an overall likeness to the innumerable snowscapes by the late Zhe-painters. The brushwork is coarser than that of the early masters of the Zhe-school. The spatial organization is, however, very similar to that found in many works by Dai Jin and also to Zhou Chen's own "Listening to the Mountain Stream". There are even features in this painting reminiscent of Tang Yin's early snowscape "Clearing after Snow on a Mountain Pass", NPM, Taipei, by Jiang Zhaoshen dated to approximately 1507. The likeness between "Secluded Dwelling" and "Listening to the Mountain Stream", as well as the similarities to the Tang Yin painting, indicate that "Secluded Dwelling" might have been painted in a relatively early phase of Zhou's career.

In the hanging scroll "Visiting Friends amidst Snowy Mountains", Peking, the influence of the late Zhe-masters has become all-dominating: The motif, a thatched hut in a wintry landscape, is more or less the same as that of "Secluded Dwelling" and very typical of the late Zhe-school. Several snowscapes of this type by Wu Wei and Zhang Lu have been preserved. The heavy ink on silk with only a light touch of blue in the gowns and a red wash on a piece of furniture show a choice of materials typical of the late Zhe-school painters. The brushwork is very close to Wu Wei and Zhang Lu—the strokes are coarse, the contours dark and heavy, with a conscious use of "split-brush" effects (a type of stroke otherwise very seldom found in Zhou Chen's oeuvre). Only in the figure painting do we find light, fine lines. The contrast between the brushwork in the figures and that of the landscape is something quite typical of the late Zhe-school. The compositional pattern shows a certain bipartite structure, contrasting a very crowded left half to a more empty right part, although the contrast between the right and left halves is not so marked as in many of the works by late Zhe-painters.

There is also another extant painting by Zhou Chen which shows a conspicuous influence from the late Zhe-painters' style: The hanging scroll "Farewell at the Brushwood Gate", Nanjing Museum (pl. 27). In this scroll, a tall pine fills more than half of the picture plane; its branches are cut off at the frame to the right and top-left. The scene thus seems very close in space to the beholder. The artifice of making the picture frame cut a tree at more than one place is a common device in Wu Wei's art. To enhance the proximity to the viewer, Zhou Chen has added the factor of compactness: Most of the picture plane is filled in with dark, heavy brushlines. There is an almost aggressive quality about the zigzag lines of the pine branches, the thatched roof and the earthen slopes, the lines running downwards in oblique parallels from left to right. The sketchy lines

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of the brushwood fence add further to the dynamics of the composition. The crowded structure, with layer pressed upon layer, represents something new in Zhou Chen's art. But, in the art of Wu Wei we find close parallels to this structure.[39])

The manner of painting the pine in "Farewell" bears a striking resemblance to that in the handscroll "Iron Flute", done in 1484 by Wu Wei (pl. 28). The human figure, where the faces and hands are done in light brushwork, in strong contrast to the sweeping strokes of the dresses, are akin to the figures found in paintings by Zhang Lu.

It is impossible to know with certainty when these paintings in the style of the late Zhe-masters were done. I believe that they were probably done sometime during the two first decades of the 16th century. This was a flourishing period for the style of Wu Wei. Besides, if we compare the figure painting in "Farewell" with that of the handscroll "Beggars and Street Characters" (pl. 33–44) from 1516, we find many similarities: Compare, for example, the scholar to the right in the "Farewell" to the storyteller in the "Beggars"—their faces show a great resemblance, the manner of painting the sleeve is exactly the same. This might indicate that they were done during the same span of time.

Zhou Chen also did some figures in landscapes related to the style of the late Zhe-masters: In the hanging scroll "Ning Qi Feeding his Ox" (pl. 29) the late Zhe-style is somewhat modified: The bipartite structure with an overhanging cliff and a dominating tree in the left half of the picture has many parallels in the art of Wu Wei and Zhang Lu, but the cliff is less protruding in this painting, and the scene is viewed from a greater distance than is common in works by the late Zhe-masters. The composition is masterly in its simplicity. Ning Qi and his ox dominate the picture, despite their relatively small size. A dynamic curve formed by the cliff and the juniper tree with its creepers encircles the man and his beast and emphasizes their importance. There is no background, no small details to detract interest from the main scene: The figure of Ning Qi effectively stands out against the blank surface.

The brushwork in "Ning Qi" is extremely forceful. Zhou Chen has utilized the very absorbant paper in a most daring manner. The contours of the rocks and the tree are painted with a brush soaked in ink. Extreme rapidity and control were needed to handle the wet brush on this absorbant paper. The similar character of the contour lines of the juniper tree and the rocks establishes continuity in the play of lines, but while the surface of the tree trunk is rendered with sparse, thin, and rather dry strokes to convey the texture of a withered juniper, the texture strokes in the rocks are very rough. In some places the texture strokes are applied on a still wet surface, resulting in a blurred effect. In the brushwork of the cliff and the juniper, we find great similarities to the style of Wu Wei, but Zhou Chen has chosen to play down the effects somewhat: The linear qualities are more strongly emphasized in the depiction of the tree, and the *taidian*, although of the same

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character as that of Wu Wei, are more modestly applied. The figures of Ning Qi and his ox are drawn with a rather dry brush and with lightness of touch. Ning Qi, who represents the model Confucian statesman, is depicted in an idealized manner. Although he is shown in the act of feeding an ox, he has the demeanor of a scholar. The figure painting has a crispness rarely found in paintings by the later Zhe-school masters.

The hanging scroll "Qu Yuan Reciting Poems on his Wanderings" portrays another famous personality from ancient times. The lonely, proud figure of the poet Qu Yuan stands out against the bleak winter landscape. Deeply sunk in his own thoughts, he wanders forward reciting his poems to himself, while his garments flutter in the strong wind. The landscape reflects the elegiac mood of the poet: Bare, wind-swept trees with a few dry, brown leaves in a snowy river landscape. The ground of the flat river landscape slopes steeply upwards—low islets create a gradual recession into space up to the distant horizon. This is a landscape type more related to structures found in literati painting than to snowscapes by the Zhe-painters. The brushwork strongly resembles that of the late Zhe-masters, however: The contours of the landscape are drawn with heavy, undulating lines. The branches are drawn with a very dry brush, almost creating a *feibai-effect* on the silk. The snowy river banks are done in light washes, standing aout against the darker washes of the river and sky. The fine, light lines in the figure painting contrast with the very free brushwork in the landscape: The poet is drawn with the light, fluid lines we find in the best professional figure painting. This contrast between the brushwork of the landscape and the painting is, as mentioned above, something often found in the paintings of the late Zhe-school masters.

It is extremely difficult to date the Ning Qi and Qu Yuan paintings even very approximately. It is most unlikely, however, that this type of mature interpretation in the late Zhe-style could have been done in an early phase of Zhou Chen's development.

Summarizing Zhou Chen's development in the Zhe-style, we can tentatively say that Zhou Chen seems to have been influenced by Dai Jin at least in two phases of his career: Once relatively early, when he did not yet have a full command of his means, and then quite late in his life, when he did some Dai-inspired paintings, rich in details and with a consistent spatial conception. It seems most likely that the paintings influenced by the later Zhe-masters were done during the middle phase of his career—this was the period when the late Zhe-style was at its most flourishing. The free brushwork in these paintings should also be compared with the style of the mountainscapes in the Li Tang mode from his middle age, while the trend towards the narrative and the finely brushed found in his late works indicate that in his last years he would have paid less attention to the more heavy style of the later Zhe-school.

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(3) LANDSCAPES RELATED TO LITERATI PAINTING

There are only a few extant paintings by Zhou Chen related to the literati painting tradition: "Yiwan tu" (pl. 30–31), connected with the mode of the Yuan master Wang Meng, and "Wuyi Mts." (pl. 32), rather loosely connected with the Dong-Ju tradition.

The handscroll "Yiwan" is quite different from Zhou Chen's other landscapes. Compared to the rest of Zhou Chen's works, it is characterized by its linear qualities, by its complete lack of tactility. The mountains and clouds are drawn with long, undulating strokes, no graded washes added. In many details, however, the brushwork comes close to that of other Zhou Chen paintings: The seated scholar reminds one of the scholar on the fan "Listening to the Song of the Pines" (pl. 51) and the host in the hanging scroll "Visiting a Mountain Dweller" (pl. 3), the pine-trunks to the right are akin to those in "Listening to the Wind in the Pines", the thatched cottage to the one on the fan "Ferry on the River" (pl. 57).

It seems to me that the painting is intended to be seen as a work in the mode of Wang Meng. The long, curving texture strokes and the abundance of *taidian* are quite different from the small, curving strokes of Wang Meng, but the over-all effect bears some likeness. The manner of painting the pines (especially the needles) is akin to that of Wang Meng, as is the manner of painting the foliage — Zhou Chen otherwise seldom used flat washes to depict greenery, whereas this is common in the Yuan master's paintings. There are weak parts in this painting: The texture strokes fail to convey the impression of solid form, the brush-strokes in the trees to the left of the scholar lack force, etc. This is probably the result of Zhou Chen's working in a mode to which he was not quite accustomed. (But, we find also some excellent details, as in the depiction of the leisurely seated scholar.) The title of the painting is written by Zhou Chen himself: "*Yiwan tu*". In present Wuxing (Northern Zhejiang), there is a famous pavilion by the name of "Yiwan ting".[40]) This pavilion must have been in the vicinity of Wang Meng's native place, but I do not know whether Wang ever painted this place, nor whether the inscription refers to this pavilion.

The hanging scroll which I choose to name "Wuyi Mts." has been recorded under the insignificant title "Landscape". A more precise title would have been "Painting of the Jiuqu River", as the inscription by Xu Xuandu in the upper part of the painting clearly identifies the motif as being this famous scenery in the Wuyi Mts., Fujian. The Wuyi Mountains here form a range of nine curves, and the Jiuqu River (literally: "The River of the Nine Bends") flows through the middle, winding about 10 Chinese miles in an east-west direction from Xingcun (at the 9th bend) down to the area around the Dawang Peak (at the 1st bend), where it merges with the Da River.

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This region early attracted recluses. Several famous Taoist immortals lived here, and in time many temples and monasteries were established, some Buddhist, but most Taoist. It was, however, the Confucians who contributed most to the fame of this area. Zhu Xi (1130–1200) stayed in this region for some years and founded an academy below the steep mountain walls on the northern bank of the 5th bend of the river. Zhu Xi was the philosopher of the Song dynasty whose commentaries became compulsory reading for the state examinations, and was accordingly one of the most venerated philosophers in China. While staying in the Wuyi Mts., he wrote many poems inspired by the scenery — one of the best known is "A Boat-song of the Jiuqu River",[4]) where he described the scenery along the river from the 1st to the 9th bend. Later, some of Zhu Xi's pupils taught in this region, founding other academies. The place became a coveted goal for travellers, who left behind numerous descriptions in prose as well as in poetry.

An interesting detail in this painting is the writing of the signature on a prominent peak in the middle of the foreground. To obscure one's signature by writing it on a rock or a tree-trunk was a common habit during Song, but it had almost ceased by Yuan (at the same time as calligraphy became an integrated part of the picture). The prominent position of the Zhou Chen signature makes it differ somewhat from most of the Song signatures, although for example "Whispering Pines" by Li Tang exhibits a similar lack of modesty, the signature being placed on a tall mountain peak in the distance. When Zhou Chen chose to write his signature on a mountain peak, he perhaps had in mind a topographic characteristic of the Jiuqu area, namely the numerous inscriptions by famous men of letters written on stones and cliffs. Many of these inscriptions were written during Song, and commented on by later scholars. Travellers in this area never fail to mention the many, often faded, inscriptions by venerated philosophers.

The Jiuqu River is shown flowing from the upper left corner (the 9th bend) down to the lower right corner (the 1st bend). In reality the river-bed slopes rather gently downwards, but Zhou Chen has raised the distant part of the terrain with the effect that the difference in altitude between the 1st and the 9th bend seems much greater than it in reality is. If the slope of the river had been as steep as in the picture, it would of course have been impossible to row upstream, an excursion which was almost a must for travellers in this area.

The composition of this picture is more complex than is common in Zhou Chen's oeuvre, but despite the many elements of the composition, it still has structural clarity. The mountain range in the middle, organized in a *longmo*-pattern, unifies the two parts. In a masterly manner Zhou Chen has differentiated between the right part of the landscape with its impenetrable depths and solitary peaks encircled by mist, and the left part, accessible all the way up by navigation along the river. There is also a contrast between the lower part of the painting

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with its many oddly-formed peaks and abundance of detail and the upper part, which has fewer and simpler elements, done on a larger scale.

When Zhou Chen did this painting, he was faced with the task of rendering a landscape of very complex topography, full of famous places. If he had chosen to give an exact rendering of all the famous scenes, he would have ended up with a map-like composition. He chose instead to give a freer interpretation.

The brushwork of the "Wuyi Mts." has borrowed brush formulas from the literati painting associated with the mode of Juran: We find a certain amount of *fantou* ("alum heads") in the mountain range, a feature closely connected with Juran's style. Also reminiscent of Juran's paintings is the use of the same type of *taidian* to represent moss as well as foliage — a device for securing harmony in space and brushwork — and the distribution of the *taidian* along the contour-lines of the mountains with a concentration at the intersections of the lines. This type of *taidian* is also found in the paintings by Dai Jin, although Dai Jin does not combine it with the use of *fantou*. Whether Zhou Chen was directly influenced by a painting in the Juran mode of the Wuyi River, or whether he assimilated the elements more indirectly, through the influence of for example Dai Jin, is difficult to tell. The texture strokes in this painting are mostly done by pressing a very dry brush downwards (almost like *jiaomo* — "scorched ink"), but in some of the peaks in the left foreground we find "hempstrokes" (*pima cun*) — the texture strokes preferred by the literati painters. The architecture is done without the help of any technical devices. The simple houses are of the same type as those painted by Huang Gong-wang, and which became a characteristic detail in works by Huang's literati followers.

The extant landscape scrolls by Zhou Chen related to literati painting styles are, thus, very few, and their brushwork is somewhat different from that of the literati painters. The scarcity of this type of paintings in Zhou Chen's oeuvre and the lack of dates make it impossible to deduce when the paintings may have been done.

(4) FIGURE PAINTINGS

While the literati painters of early and middle Ming paid little attention to figure painting, it seems that most of the professional landscape painters also were accomplished figure painters. The professional figure painting of this period includes a variety of modes, from paintings done in the *baimiao* manner, with fine, even strokes, to paintings done in very coarse brush-work, where the garments are drawn with heavy, uneven strokes, often contrasted to the use of fine lines in the hands and faces.

Zhou Chen does not seem to have been particularly famous for his figure paintings, he seems nevertheless to have been a very versatile figure painter, who could even do portraits occasionally (see above).

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Zhou Chen's only dated figure painting — "Beggars and Street Characters" (pls. 33–44) — is from 1516. This is one of the most interesting middle Ming figure paintings. Compositionally it is rather simple. Originally, it was mounted as double album-leaves, each album-leaf forming an entity of two contraposed figures. The figures are seen in profile, three-quarter aspect or almost *en-face*, but always in a position facing the opposite figure. There is no background, each figure stands out effectively against the blank surface. Using only a few brush-strokes, Zhou Chen captured the looks and manners of these people. But even in the most daring simplifications and stylizations, he still demonstrates a certain interest in tactile reality. In an almost magical way he manages to reproduce the texture of hair and beard, of dog's fur and goat's hair, of heavy cloth and patched tatters, of basket work and hemp sandals. Economy of brushwork combined with his realistic approach prevents him from lapsing into the sentimental as well as into caricature, dangers always inherent in a subject like this.

Figure painting by Zhou Chen's contemporary Zhang Lu offers many parallels to "Beggars and Street Characters". A fine example of Zhang Lu's art is preserved in the handscroll "Figures" in the Tianjin Museum (pl. 45). It shows the same interest in folk life as does "Beggars and Street Characters", and in the Tianjin scroll too the figures are rendered against an empty background. The brushwork has interesting similarities to that of "Beggars and Street Characters": The calligraphic, curvilinear quality, in which sharp angles are avoided, the *ti* and *dun* strokes, borrowed from calligraphy, and the alternation between heavy and light pressure on the brush, while excessive demonstration of brush force is avoided. "Beggars and Street Characters" has, however, qualities we do not find in the works by Zhang Lu: The unorthodox choice of subject, unique in Chinese painting history, implying harsh criticism of the social misery of the time.

The brushwork in the figure painting of "Farewell at the Brushwood Gate" is akin to that of "Beggars and Street Characters", but here the influence from Zhang Lu is still more conspicuous. We find here a very sharp contrast between fine brushwork in the faces and hands and coarse strokes in the garments, a contrast very typical of Zhang Lu's style. In "Farewell" we also find the *dingtou* ("nail's head") type of stroke — a manner often found in works by late Zhe-school painters, but otherwise rarely seen in Zhou Chen's oeuvre. The same influence from late Zhe-school figure painters can also occasionally be found in Tang Yin's art: His scroll "Dongfang Shuo" has many similarities in brushwork to that of the above-mentioned works by Zhou Chen as well as to that of Zhang Lu's figure paintings.[42] The Zhe-school thus seems to have exerted a certain influence on the figure painting of the so-called "Yuanti" painters during the two first decades of the 16th century.

In his religious paintings, too, Zhou Chen must have been influenced by the Zhe-painters. In his only preserved work of this type — "Immortal with Toad" (pl. 47) — we find great similarities to the figure painting of the late Zhe-masters

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(pl. 48). Here too we find the sharp contrast between very fine brushwork in face and hands and coarse strokes in the garments. But, in "Immortal with Toad" the brushwork is even freer than in most paintings by Wu Wei and Zhang Lu. The strokes in the dress of the immortal are made with an uneven pressure almost bordering on mannerism. These wavering, flat strokes live their own life, on the verge of losing their representative function.

The figure of the immortal and his toad almost fills the picture plane, so that a strong tension is created between the curves of the figure and the rectangle of the frame. The immortal, shown in close-up in a three-quarter aspect, turns to the right and takes a step forward. His wind-blown garment, forming a sweeping curve, enhances the dynamic movement. The tense and crowded structure reminds one of "Farewell at a Brushwood Gate" (pl. 27), while it is quite different from the style of Zhou Chen's late paintings. The poor quality of the reproduction does not allow a more detailed judgement of its date, but it seems reasonable to assume that it was done some time during the two first decades of the 16th century.

In the "Qu Yuan"-scroll, the brushwork is of a lighter and finer quality. We still find a contrast between the brushwork in the face and that in the garment, but the contrast is not so marked, and the lines have a more fluid character. This type of figure painting was practiced by both professional and literati painters during middle Ming, and in some ways can be said to represent a development of the mode of figure painting which traces its ancestry back to Gu Kaizhi (344–406) of the Eastern Jin dynasty.

In the depiction of the statesman Ning Qi (pl. 29) we find other type of brushwork — the lines are lightly and rapidly drawn, with a crisp and vivacious quality pointing forward to the art of Qiu Ying.

Thus, Zhou Chen's figure paintings span over several modes. Although the question of a stylistic heritage common to Zhou Chen and the Zhe-painters' figure painting complicates the issue, similarities in brushwork indicate that the Zhe-style must have had a certain impact on Zhou's figure painting.

(5) FOLDING FANS

In one of his reports from China of the late 16th century, Matteo Ricci describes folding fans and their extensive use in China:

> . . . Those [i.e. the fans] used by the upper classes are generally made of bright paper decorated with a design, beautifully traced in gold, and they are carried either spread out or folded up. Sometimes, too, these fans are inscribed with certain maxims or even whole poems. The gift most frequently exchanged as a mark of friendship and esteem is a fan. We have at our house a box full of these gift fans which have been given us as a mark of esteem and which we in return give to others as a proof of friendship . . .[43])

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The custom of exchanging inscribed and painted folding fans as a token of friendship, which seemed to Matteo Ricci to be so fundamental in Chinese society, was actually a new habit. Originally a Japanese invention, the folding fan was in China often associated with Korean culture. Folding fans had been imported to China as early as during the Northern Song dynasty and aroused much interest among the literati. Su Shi, Huang Tingjian and others were fascinated by its technical refinements.[44]) But the artistic possibilities of the folding fan do not seem to have tempted the Song painters. An exception is Zhao Boju, who — according to literary sources — once decorated a folding fan in the *gongbi* manner.[45])

The early Ming emperors sought to obtain peaceful relations with the Japanese. Imports from Japan rose quickly in this period, and folding fans constituted an important part of these imports.[46]) Japanese folding fans enjoyed great popularity in Chinese seaport towns as well as at court during early Ming. They aroused the admiration of the Yongle emperor to such a degree that he ordered his artisans to copy them. Quite soon, Japanese fans must also have been copied by private enterprise.

The first painter to have left behind a number of folding fans decorated with painting and calligraphy is the grand old man of the Wu-school — Shen Zhou. The development of the folding fan in the period from the first import from Japan on a large scale during early Ming to this phase, when the folding fan had become a medium for literati art, has not been systematically examined. Unsolved questions are many. How were imported Japanese fans decorated? Was there any relationship between Japanese fan decorations and later Chinese styles of fan painting? We might guess that the first fans produced in China were decorated by artisans, whose works were not considered worthy of preservation, but we do not know whether professional artists in seaport towns and at court worked in this medium before it caught the fancy of the Suzhou literati. No fans by early Zhe-masters are, as far as I know, preserved to-day. It is therefore not impossible that it was in Suzhou that painting on folding fans was brought to a fine art.

After Shen Zhou, the folding fan soon gained in popularity. In the first decades of the 16th century, Zhou Chen and Tang Yin produced a large number of fans. From the twenties onward, we have innumerable fans by painters of the Wu school and their contemporaries in Suzhou. From the beginning of the 16th century we also have folding fans by late Zhe masters active in Nanjing, for example Li Zhu (originally a student of Shen Zhou), Zhang Lu and Jiang Song. During the later part of the 16th century, painted and inscribed folding fans were in vogue in all fashionable circles in China, as Matteo Ricci reported.

It was a medium suitable for spontaneous artistic expression. It demanded less

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labour than earlier art forms — it could be painted or written on the spur of the moment, as a gift for a friend, in return for a favour, as a souvenir of a gathering. On it could be added thoughts and poems written by those present. The functional quality of the fan gave this art form an unpretentious character, which suited the intentions of the amateur painters, who liked to call their works "ink-plays" (*moxi*).

Ming folding fans were done on stiff, gold-powdered paper, almost non-absorbant. This, together with the strange form, made the folding fan a challenging medium for landscape painting. Shen Zhou must have been a pioneer in the development of this branch of landscape painting. His earliest preserved fan, however, seems to be a work with a floral decoration: The hibiscus fan in the NPM, Taipei, is considered by both R. Edwards and Jiang Zhaoshen to be an early work.[47]) Its simple and elegant form might be a sublime literati interpretation of a current style of artisan fan decoration.

Most of Shen Zhou's landscape fans have a structure clearly adapted to the particular form of the folding fan: The horizontal lines in a landscape (as shorelines, horizons, etc.) are rendered as curved, almost concentric, to the curve of the fan, while vertical and nearly vertical forms (such as trees, steep cliffs etc.) are rendered with slanting lines, converging towards the lower part of the fan (though rarely with lines strictly parallel to the ribs).[48]) In his discussion on Shen Zhou's folding fans, Brinker claims that their structure is generally like a fragment of a handscroll, "... Man glaubt, die idyllische Scenerie durch ein kleines fächerförmiges Fenster sehen zu können."[49]) But, judging by the material hitherto published, this type of structure does not seem to have been common in Shen Zhou's oeuvre. When examining the fan reproduced by Brinker, I found that it had a structure clearly adapted to the form of the folding fan, with a curving shoreline and slanting lines in the tree stems.

Even Zhou Chen and Tang Yin usually preferred a type of structure adapted to the form of the fan.[50]) Some new variations were introduced. Especially in Tang Yin's oeuvre we find a conscious will to counteract the sliding movement towards the sides which otherwise is quite common in fan compositions.[51]) In Zhou Chen's "Scholar Looking at a Waterfall" (I leave the question of its authenticity open here), we find another type of structure: A composition where the lines in the foreground are curved almost concentrically to the form of the folding fan, while the background has straight horizontal lines.

The special form and material of the folding fans make it difficult to relate them directly to scrolls and album-leaves. The fact that none of Zhou Chen's preserved fans are dated has further increased the difficulties. I have thus found it impossible to make even the most coarse chronology of his folding fans.

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Folding Fans in the Li Tang Mode

As the folding fan was not used as an artistic medium during Song, it is perhaps anachronistic to talk of fans as being "in the mode of Li Tang", especially as the gold-powdered paper makes it almost impossible to render the standard *fupi* texture strokes typical for this mode. There is, however, a group of folding fans which demonstrates certain similarities to the scrolls in the Li Tang mode, and I have therefore chosen to single out these works for a separate discussion.

In my discussion of the handscroll "Clear Lake" (pl. 1), I pointed out its relationship to the Song album leaf "Meditation on Clouds" (pl. 11 b), attributed to Li Tang. Both paintings render secluded spots deep in the mountains. The scenery of the folding fan "Lucid Talk amidst Pine Shadows", Shanghai Museum (pl. 50), is akin to these scenes. But here the Ming character has become very conspicuous. We find a heightened interest in the brushwork — the strokes are vivacious and rhythmic. The powerful contour-lines and the light and sparse texture strokes result in a less tactile quality compared to the two other paintings. A faint note from the mundane world has also crept in here — compare the two men deeply sunken in meditation on nature in the "Meditation on Clouds" to the two conversing scholars attended by a servant depicted in the fan.

"Lucid Talk" was probably done later than "Clear Lake". However, we still find some features reminiscent of the Song Li Tang style, which makes me believe that this fan cannot be very late in date: There is a marked contrast between warm and cold tones in the colouring of the rocks and cliffs — a feature typical of the Li Tang tradition of Song. Also the figure painting, meticulously done in fine lines, reminds one of Song painting, as well as of the scholar in "Clear Lake". The loose brushwork is somewhat similar to that of the hanging scroll "Secluded Dwelling in a Snowy Landscape", which is probably a relatively early work. I therefore believe that this folding fan may have been done in a formative stage in Zhou Chen's career, when he was striving to develop the Li Tang mode to fit the new stylistic ideals of Ming.

On the folding fan "Leisurely Talk in a Pine-shaded Pavilion", Shanghai Museum, which has never been reproduced, we see two scholars in conversation in a pavilion besides a waterfall. One stretches out his arm, as if to draw attention to the sound of splashing water. In this fan too we find a contrast between warm and cold colours added to the rocks, but the contrast is here more subdued. The brushwork of "Leisurely Talk" is much firmer than that of "Lucid Talk", more like that of Zhou Chen's masterly fan "Listening to the Song in the Pines and the Cascades of Water, when the Autumn Wind fills the Myriad of Ravines" (pl. 51), although it lacks the curvilinear qualities of the latter's brushwork. The effect of the *fupi* of the Li Tang mode is skillfully obtained by the use of a very dry brush on the gold-powdered paper. The composition is well-balanced: The tall pines to the right and the bamboo grove to the left bend across the fan ribs and create a

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movement towards the centre. The curve of the bridge runs almost concentrically to that of the picture frame, and its curve is echoed in the contours of the distant mountain range, thus stabilizing the structure in the middle of the picture plane. The composition shows the mature artist's grasp of the problems connected with the format of the folding fan.

In the folding fan "Listening to the Song in the Pines and the Cascades of Water, when the Autumn Wind fills the Myriad of Ravines" (pl. 51), Zhou Chen's relationship to the Song Li Tang tradition is very free. The brushwork is fresh and vigorous, very finely adapted to the new and exacting material of gold-powdered paper.

The poetic title aptly describes the motif of this fan, which is one of Zhou Chen's finest landscape paintings: Among mighty pines a scholar stands in a windblown gown, listening to the surge of the water and the song of the pines. His attendant brings him his *qin*, so that he can join this concert of nature. In the clear autumn air, we can follow the magnificent vista of the distant mountains. The outcrops in darker tones give the necessary weight to the lower part of the composition, while the curving path leads the eye into pictorial space. The pines effectively frame the scholar.

In the folding fan "Conversation below Pines", Honolulu Academy, (pl. 52), the motif is similar to that of "Lucid Talk": By a river bank, shaded by tall pines, two scholars are engaged in conversation, attended to by a young servant. It is as if the painter had here consciously wanted to attach his painting closely to the Li Tang tradition of the Song. With *fupi* strokes, as similar to the Song type as the gold-powdered paper allows, he depicts the tightly organized rocks and cliffs. This close affiliation to the Song tradition makes the linear qualities of this fan stand out still more clearly. The water is drawn in playful lines, reminiscent of the brushwork in "Yiwan" (pl. 30–31), and these strokes actually seem better suited to the depiction of clouds than water. This linear brushwork lends a character of lightness to the painting, it is as if the firmly organized cliffs are floating around. Even the details show a remarkable similarity to "Yiwan", as do the figures and deciduous trees. These two works might have been done during the same period.

Despite the different attitude to the Li Tang tradition expressed in the fans "Listening to the Song" and "Conversation below Pines", they are linked together by their linear qualities and their style of figure painting.

In the folding fan "Scholar with a Goosefeather Fan", NPM, Taipei (pl. 53), the motif is much the same as that of the "Listening to the Song in the Pines" — a scholar listening to the sounds of nature. But here the mood is that of a warm, pleasant summer day, the mountains are hidden in haze, a gentle wind moves the creepers on the trees. Attention is focussed on the scholar, who has loosened his gown and cools himself with a goosefeather fan. He is seen close-up in a rudimental landscape setting below a pine growing on an overhanging cliff. This structure reminds one of the bipartite compositional pattern of the Zhe-school,

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which Zhou Chen applied in a somewhat modified form in scrolls such as "Ning Qi" (pl. 29) and "Leisurely Watching" (pl. 14). Here the structure is adapted to the form of the folding fan. To fit the curve of the upper edge, the branches of the pine are depicted as stretching far out into space. Together with the overhanging cliff and the rocks in the foreground they form a U-shaped curve. The rocks along the lower edge are in a darker tone than the cliff, stabilizing the composition. We find the same type of structure in the fan "Travellers on a Mountain Road" in the Victoria and Albert Museum (a painting which cannot be classified as in the Li Tang mode), but as I am not fully convinced that this is a genuine work from Zhou Chen's hand, I will not go into details here.

In the very crowded structure of the fan "Water Pavilions and Paths amidst Pine Valleys", NPM, Taipei (pl. 54), we again find a desire to revive the tightly organized cliffs and rocks of the Song Li Tang tradition: In the right part the pines and cliffs are almost squeezed together. In the left part, however, the landscape has a softer and more open character, with lush gardens on a river bank and trails of mist in the distance. This integration of more decorative landscape elements in a Li Tang framework has parallels in the late scrolls by Zhou Chen. The texture strokes in the foreground cliff also render a faceted surface in a manner akin to Zhou's later scrolls in the Li Tang mode. The brushwork is firm and controlled, though a little conventional. It is a work by an experienced artist, done in a routine manner. The miniature-like quality of the brushwork offers parallels to the art of Qiu Ying.

Zhou Chen's other Folding Fans

Zhou Chen's folding fans outside the Li Tang tradition show such a variety of modes and trends that I have found it impossible to arrange the material in a meaningful pattern.

As discussed above, the Suzhou literati seem to have been instrumental in developing folding fan painting into a medium of fine art, and we should therefore expect a certain influence from the Wu-painters on Zhou Chen's folding fans. Very few of Zhou's extant fans, however, show signs of any deep influence from the literati painters of his hometown. The fan "Listening to the Cascades of Water in a Pine Valley", NPM, Taipei (pl. 56), offers the clearest parallels to the art of Shen Zhou — the pioneer of folding fan painting in Suzhou: The texture strokes are shorter, broader and straighter than is usual in Zhou Chen's art. This is a type of texture stroke quite characteristic of Shen Zhou's style. The branches of the bare trees are done with a *tubi* ("worn brush") technique. This is the type of brushwork mostly avoided by Zhou Chen, whereas Shen Zhou often used it. The few, even lines in the drawing of the sitting scholar also remind one of Shen Zhou's figure painting.

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The composition of "Listening to the Cascades" is very peculiar — much more crowded than is usual in Zhou Chen's oeuvre. It is as if the painter wanted to emphasize the impressive, almost forbidding, character of the cliff landscape. The steep cliff, in the shape of an inverted cone, seems almost squeezed against the cluster of trees in the foreground, thus reducing pictorial space to a minimum. The upper edge of the fan cuts off the top of the cliff, creating an impression of imposing magnitude. The sides of the cliff are parallel to the left and right edge of the fan respectively, thus further enhancing the dominance of the cliff. The imposing waterfall plunges down the steep cliff walls. In a masterly way Zhou Chen has taken advantage of the curving form of the lower edge to indicate a rising terrain. The manner of filling the pictorial plane with cliffs might remind one of the impressive mountainscapes by Shen Zhou and the early Wen Zhengming.

The uncommon structure of this fan — the special emphasis given to the tall cliff and the waterfall — might have been conditioned by the fan being an illustration to the *hao* of a certain Wu Shizuo, for whom the fan was painted. On the fan, Du Mu wrote the following inscription:

The rock rises majestically like a gateway
The clear spring winds yieldingly around its steps
Enduring like the stone and pure like spring water.
How can integrity be sought outside this?
Wu Shizuo with the *hao* Shiquan ("Rock and Spring") made this poem. Nanhao *jushi* [i.e. Du Mu].

The fan was thus probably commissioned as an illustration to the ideas of rock and water and thereby to the *hao* of Wu Shizuo.

In the fan "Ferry on the River", NPM, Taipei (pl. 57), the influence from literati painting is seen in the depiction of a peaceful river landscape. The broad river with its low islets belongs to the placid Jiangnan landscape, so often depicted by the literati. The brushwork, however, is of the type commonly connected with professional painters: The almost mannered wavering of the strokes makes one think of the style of Dai Jin.

The activity of the Zhe-painters in the field of folding fan painting still awaits closer examination. Judging by the material published hitherto, it seems that large numbers of fan paintings were not produced until a later generation of Zhe painters such as Li Zhu, Zhang Lu and Jiang Song grew up. These painters, for long periods active in Nanjing, mostly preferred quite simple compositional patterns and rather coarse brushwork in their fan paintings. Some of their fan paintings must have ended up in nearby Suzhou, we have a fan by Jiang Song with an inscription by Zhu Yunming and Peng Nian to cite one instance.[52]) The lack of

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research regarding the Zhe-school folding fans makes it difficult to judge to what extent Zhou Chen's paintings were directly influenced by the Zhe-painters folding fans. A few of his fans, however, are done in a manner influenced by the Zhe-school:

In the folding fan "Returning Home by Boat in Wind and Rain", Hashimoto coll., (pl. 58 a), we find an interest in atmospheric effects, otherwise typical of the Zhe-school. The fan effectively depicts a stormy day on the river. The wind-ridden trees, with their flying vines, create a movement towards the right, the stubborn figure of the fisherman in a raincoat, rowing his boat against the wind, forms a powerful counter-movement. There is an extensive use of graded washes, while the few brushlines are lightly and crisply drawn. The contrast between the dark trees and the white cottage has almost the effect of *chiaroscuoro*. This is a type of brushwork closely related to that of the Zhe-school.

The fan "A Pavilion among Windblown Trees", Shanghai (pl. 58 b) alludes to the Ma-Xia tradition. In sublime shorthand Zhou Chen presents his version of this mode: The *da fupi,* the broad washes, the bent pines — all are clear allusions to this mode. We find here the mode boldly transformed to suit the form and material of the Ming folding fan. In his transformation of the Song mode, Zhou Chen might have been influenced by Dai Jin: The powerful strokes in the pines remind one of those in Dai Jin's hanging scroll "Verdant Hills in Spring" (pl. 24), the distant trees in the valley are reminiscent of the trees in Zhou's painting "in the mode of Dai Jin" (pl. 24).

Compositionally, the painting is interesting as a transformation of a structure typical for Zhou's hanging scrolls to the format of the folding fan: In this depiction of a pavilion amidst the mountains, we find a contrast between vertical and nearly vertical lines in one half of the picture, and almost horizontal lines in the other, although the contrast is somewhat softened. The tall foreground rock, found in so many of the hanging scrolls, here acts as an intermediary between the two halves.

The same bipartite structure is found in the fan "Scholar Looking at a Waterfall", Hashimoto coll. (pl. 55 b). This fan alludes to another of the great Song traditions — that of the Li-Guo school: The wavering lines and the manner of painting the pines are clear references to this mode. The rounded forms of the distant mountains bear a strong resemblance to the mountains in the paintings in the Li-Guo mode by Yuan artists such as Zhu Derun.[53]) The Li-Guo mode was not so popular among the professionals in Ming as it had been during Yuan, but a painter as Zhu Duan practiced the mode, as his large hanging scroll "River Landscape with Fishermen", Stockholm,[54]) demonstrates. There are many similarities between the fan by Zhou and this hanging scroll by Zhu Duan — they are clearly based on the same conception of the Li-Guo tradition.

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(6) *ZHOU CHEN'S DEVELOPMENT AND STYLE*

It is difficult to correlate the paintings inside and outside the Li Tang tradition. It seems that landscapes in the Li Tang mode served as Zhou Chen's stock-in-trade, while he more arbitrarily made excursions into other fields of painting. We can dimly see some main phases of his development:

1) An early, formative stage.

2) A middle phase, when his paintings in the Li Tang mode show freedom in brushwork and simplicity in structure. These paintings have many similarities to Tang Yin's works in the same mode. During this period, Zhou was probably also influenced by the later Zhe-masters.

3) A late phase: The paintings in the Li Tang mode have a more narrative character and the brushwork is more meticulous. During this phase Zhou also made paintings strongly influenced by the nervous brushwork of Dai Jin.

The slightly decorative, but not effeminate, Li Tang mode must have been well suited to the Suzhou market. The Ming revival of this mode was limited to Suzhou and must have started just before or at the beginning of Zhou's career. In his earlier paintings, Zhou strove to develop this Song tradition into a manner suitable to the taste of Ming. This meant a change of focus from observation of the perceptual world to a concentration on brushwork. The tightly organized, complex structures of Song did not suit the sweeping brushwork of Ming artists. The composition had to be simplified — to be composed of few, large units.

Tang Yin must have become interested in Zhou's revival of the Li Tang mode. Tang's long calligraphic training may have been influential in the development of the curvilinear quality of the brushwork in the paintings from the period when these two painters were closely associated. During these years, both Tang and Zhou produced a series of fine works in the Li Tang mode, characterized by a vigorous brushwork and powerful contrasts between light and dark planes.

Later, Zhou seems once more to have turned again to the Li Tang style of Song for inspiration. The brushwork of his late paintings in this mode is more meticulous, and we often find standard *fupi* strokes. At the same time, elements from more *gongbi* traditions are incorporated in the Li Tang framework. The development towards a more clearly expressed archaization and more meticulous brushwork may partly have been influenced by the taste of the Suzhou literati painters. This trend towards a more meticulous style in professional painting was to reach its climax in the art of Zhou's pupil Qiu Ying.

Zhou Chen and most of the Zhe-painters shared the social status of professional painters. This background links them together, all being obliged to meet the demands of the art market. But their patronage differed widely in character, and one might wonder to what degree their styles were influenced by their type of patronage. Were there great differences between art produced for the court, the merchant class and the scholar-gentry? Our present knowledge

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regarding Ming professional painting does not allow a final answer. But it should be remembered that most of the painters in the painting academy were active for long periods of their life outside the court. For instance, Zhou Chen's teacher Chen Xian probably made pictures for the wealthy Suzhou middle class for many years before he entered the academy. And Zhou Chen, who never enjoyed imperial patronage, must have been well acquainted with the professional styles practiced at court through his teacher.[55])

Wang Shizhen once said: "A man like Zhou Chen might be called an indirect follower of Dai Jin". It seems that Dai Jin's light and nervous elegance early attracted Zhou Chen. Above I have demonstrated Dai's influence upon Zhou in several paintings: From the early "Listening to the Mountain Stream" (pl. 20), where the relationship to Dai's art already is quite conspicuous, to the homage to Dai's style in "Poetical Thoughts" (pl. 24), done in the very last years of Zhou's life. Dai's brushwork in particular seems to have exerted a deep influence on Zhou's style: We find the same casual elegance paired with a nervous quality in the brushwork of both these professionals: Long, slim, slightly undulating lines, drawn quickly, lightly and yet forcefully with a pointed brush, and slim, casually added *taidian*. Cahill has characterized Dai Jin's brushwork: "It communicates to the viewer a sense of swiftness and ease of execution, thus involving him visually in the making of the picture." He thereby compares Dai's brushwork to that of the semi-cursive script (*xingshu*).[56]) This is also an apt description of Zhou Chen's brushwork. However, Zhou is more moderate in his means than is Dai. His strokes are not so jagged, and he avoids the "split-brush" technique and the very broad washes. It seems that Zhou's interest in Dai's art, which we can find all through Zhou's development, flamed up in the last years of his life. Besides the more meticulously done paintings in the Li Tang mode from this period, we also find some works of an airy structure and with a light and somewhat nervous brushwork, representing a refinement of the style of Dai.

It is difficult to tell when Zhou Chen started to experiment in the flashier style of the later Zhe artists. At latest it must have been around the middle of the second decade of the 16th century, from which time we have preserved the dated "Beggars and Street Characters" (pl. 33–44). By this time he and Tang Yin had been successful in creating a Ming version of the Li Tang mode, and Tang Yin had started to develop his own, more individual style. The style of the later Zhe-masters was probably considered somewhat gawdy in Suzhou and it seems unlikely that Zhou Chen practiced the style in its original form to any great extent.

Contemporary literati painting in Suzhou seems to have left surprisingly few traces in Zhou Chen's art. The possible explanation for this seeming lack of relationship between professional and literati painting in this period will be discussed below.

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Zhou Chen was deeply influenced by older painting traditions in his development, and his activities as a copyist must have taught him much about the old techniques. A few copies of old masters from his hand are recorded in literature. Wang Shizhen mentions a copy of "The Nightly Revels of Han Xizai":

During the Hongzhi era Du Jin [with the *hao*] Gukuang restored a slightly damaged version of it [i.e. "The Nightly Revels"]. This version later came into the possession of a mighty, artloving family in Jiangnan, who aided by one hundred *hu* of rice induced Zhu Xizhe [i.e. Zhu Yunming] to compose an eightlined poem and in his own hand write it as a colophone to the painting. It became "The Three Marvels of the Wu-area". The painting here is a copy by Zhou Chen of the Du Jin version. Chen Shun [with the *hao*] Baiyang has inscribed Zhu's poem on the painting. Zhou's exquisite brushwork does not subtract anything from the Du version. Besides, Chen Shun's calligraphy belongs to the untrammeled class. This should thus be considered the fourth distinguished version.[57])

A Ming catalogue records that Zhou Chen made a copy of Zhao Boju's "Illustrations to the Odes of the Red Cliff" in handscroll format.[58]) For some reason Zhou Chen did not add colours to this otherwise close copy (*linben*).[59]) Zhou Chen also copied masters of more recent dynasties — *Tianshui bingshan lu* records 13 copies of Sheng Mao.[60]) The fate of these paintings is unknown today. Most of his other copies are also lost. Bona-fide copies have often been tampered with by posterity in order to sell them as originals.[61])

The copy of Zhao Gan is the only well-known copy preserved by Zhou Chen. As discussed above, it seems that while Zhou was faithful towards the mood of this masterpiece, he nevertheless took some liberties with the composition.

From the, admittedly scarce, material, it seems that Zhou Chen mostly limited his activities as a copyist to paintings belonging to two traditions; that of the courtly tradition before the Ma-Xia school, and that of Yuan professional art.

As regards the question of Zhou Chen's freer paraphrases of the old modes, it is often difficult to estimate their relationship to the traditional modes exactly. Only one painting can be pinned down by inscription as a paraphrase of another artist's style, namely "Poetical Thoughts" (pl. 24) in the mode of Dai Jin. In the folding fan "Scholar Looking at a Waterfall (pl. 55 b), we find unambiguous allusions to the Li-Guo mode, while the handscroll "Yiwan" (pl. 30–31) seems to be a paraphrase of Wang Meng's style. The fan "A Pavilion among Windblown Trees" (pl. 58 b) is probably a pastiche of the Ma-Xia mode (or of Dai Jin's version of the Ma-Xia mode).

The rest of Zhou Chen's paintings have a less clearly defined relationship to tradition. The paintings classified as belonging to the Li Tang mode are significant in this respect: Features from the Li Tang mode of Song are blended with features from other old modes and from contemporary styles. The function of the paintings as paraphrases of the Li Tang mode seems in most cases to have been an aspect of secondary importance — in some cases it is difficult to tell

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whether a painting is expected to be appreciated by the viewer as a paraphrase at all. Significantly, none of the paintings are signed with the words "in the mode of Li Tang". In the case of the countryside landscapes with willows, the relationship to the old traditions is still more blurred. It has been impossible to classify them as belonging to any well-defined stylistic lineage. Actually, some of these paintings could as well be classified as works in the Zhe-style.

Zhou Chen was thus an eclectic in the sense that he borrowed freely from old styles. Sometimes he took the trouble to make an allusion to some venerated master, mostly he borrowed without a quotation mark. He was clearly less systematic in his modal approach than were the literati painters, and we also find a significant difference in the choice of prototypes: Zhou Chen was more occupied with the Song masters, whereas the literati painters were most interested in the literati painters of the Yuan dynasty.

Zhou Chen was mainly influenced by two different stylistic traditions, the Li-Liu school of Song and the contemporary Zhe-school, developed from the Ma-Xia tradition, traditions which have clearly left their mark on his manner of structuring his paintings:

Li Tang's "Whispering Pines" has a structure which may typify the compositional pattern used by the painters of his school during Song: A gradual recession in space, with a well-defined fore-, middle- and background, where the fore- and middle-ground form a slanting plane, the background being strictly vertical. This structure is found in almost unaltered form in Zhou Chen's "Enjoying a Secluded Life".

Paintings of the Zhe-school frequently lack this clearly defined zonal regression in space. Instead we often find a bipartite structure, with a juxtaposition of verticals and horizontals, or with one half of the picture very crowded and the other almost empty. A typical example is "Autumn Landscape" by Dai Jin.[62]) We find this structure, somewhat modified, in Zhou Chen paintings such as "Ning Qi" and "Leisurely Watching Children Playing with Willow-flowers".

In Zhou's oeuvre, however, the two different structural patterns are often combined in one and the same painting. The zonal regression in space, with a slightly slanting fore- and middle-ground and a vertical background, from the Li Tang tradition, is combined with a juxtaposition of vertical and horizontal elements in the middle- and background (or only in the background). Typical examples are "Visiting a Mountain Dweller" and "Men in a Pavilion on the Steep Bank of a Mountain Stream". The heritage from the Li Tang compositional tradition results in a spatial organization reminiscent of a Western theatre stage, with a repoussoir, a stage floor and a backdrop. This stage-like organization often gives the composition a somewhat static character.

Enlivening these structures are the curves of the tall trees, which generally occupy a dominant position in Zhou's compositions. With a masterly hand he has

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painted mighty pines and graceful willows—trees associated with Song Academy painting. The supple branches, drawn with long, curving strokes, form an intermediate between the horizontal and vertical elements of the picture. Not seldom the tall trees form an arch or even an arcade, leading the eye of the beholder into space. The main scene usually takes place below lofty tree crowns. The tall trees in the clearly defined space make the mountains seem less monumental in size than they otherwise would have been. And man, although often depicted on a small scale, is not dwarfed by the surrounding scenery.

As a professional painter with a thorough training behind him, Zhou Chen mastered a great diversity of brush techniques and his paintings show great variety in brushwork. But there are some basic features in his brushwork which link his paintings together: He preferred to use an unworn brush with a rather sharp brushpoint. He moved the brush quickly and with great strength. The lines in the contours mostly are of considerable length. To master this kind of long, fluid brushstroke, it is necessary to hold the brush near the top of the shaft, holding one's arm lifted from the paper. In these strokes the brush has mostly been held in the so-called *zhongfeng*-position. When changing the direction of the line, he first lifted, then pressed the brush down, thus adjusting the hairs of the brushpoint to the new direction of the line (i.e. the same principle as the *ti* and *dun* strokes of calligraphy). With this method, the position of the brushpoint can be kept more or less unaltered in one stroke, even when the stroke curves back and forth. This gives the lines a fluid quality. Zhou Chen's *taidian* are rather slim—the result of his preference for pointed brushes. The *taidian,* lightly and cursorily painted, are carelessly scattered about without concern for the three-dimensional quality. This type of casual, yet powerful, brushwork demonstrates the relaxed attitude towards painting of the artist in full control of his means, and gives the paintings an aura of lightness and leisure.

Zhou Chen did several monochrome ink paintings, in free brushwork. He does not seem to have been attracted by the very precise brushwork of the *baimiao* ("outline") technique—the technique in which Qiu Ying excelled. Paintings with heavy, decorative colouring are rare in his oeuvre. When colours are applied, they are light and mostly diluted with ink.

(7) *ZHOU CHEN AND THE OTHER YUANTI PAINTERS*

The Term "Yuanti"

The classification of middle Ming painting in Suzhou into two different styles—the Wu-style and the Yuanti-style—is a rather recent phenomenon.

The term "*yuanti*" (also abbreviated to "*yuan*") originally referred to all styles practiced by artists in the Imperial Painting Academy (*Huayuan*). Only since the

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late 19th century has the term been used to designate a group of Ming artists considered to be outside both the Zhe-school and the Wu-school.

This use of the term was probably initiated by Japanese art historians. The first Chinese art history which explicitly distinguishes this group of Ming-painters seems to be *Zhongguo huihua shi* by Chen Hengque, published posthumously in 1925.[63]) According to Yu Zhaosong, this book consists of notes from Chen Hengque's lectures at Meishu zhuanmen xuexiao in Peking, collected and edited by his pupil Yu Jianhua. He alleges that it borrows freely from the history of Chinese painting by Nakamura and Kojika.[64]) I have been unable to obtain the Japanese original of this book, but, judging by the Chinese translation done by Guo Xuzhong in 1937, it seems that in the chapter regarding the Yuanti-school Chen Hengque quotes almost verbatim from the Japanese work, omitting only some information regarding Japanese collections.[65])

It seems that these early modern works have had a decisive impact on later Chinese art historians in terms of stylistic classification. I therefore feel justified in going into some detail regarding Nakamura and Kojika's treatment of Ming landscape painting. The following quotations will elucidate their main theories on the development of Ming landscape painting:

... and thus [Ming landscape painting] can very generally be divided into three main styles. Of those following the Southern Song academic traditions, we find the style of Ma Yuan and Xia Gui and the style of Li Tang and Liu Songnian, and in addition we also have the style which mainly absorbed the traditions of the four great Yuan-masters (Huang, Ni, Wu, Wang). Here we will try to look into the rise and decline of these styles:

Ming landscape painting can be divided into an early and a late phase, each phase with its particular taste. From the beginning of the dynasty until the Wanli era the two first-mentioned styles were most flourishing. From the end of Wanli, the style of the four Yuan-masters almost monopolized the scene. Its predominance lasted until the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong eras of Qing, when it reached its apex, while the two first-mentioned styles were no more held in esteem.[66])

About the Yuanti they further say:

"*One of the Academic Schools*":
This school belongs to the tradition of Li and Liu of the Southern Song Academy. Continuing this tradition during Ming are: Leng Qian, Zhou Chen, Tang Yin, Zhou Yanxiang, You Qiu, Shi Rui, Chen Luo, Chen Yan, Shen Zhao, Zhu sheng, Zhang Huan, Shen Shuo. These professionals could not only paint finely detailed landscapes in the *qinglü* mode, but also *jiehua* in the *jinbi* mode, and there were also many who were adept at making brightly coloured figure paintings... If we analyse their style on the basis of their extant paintings, we find that the brushwork of this school is delicate and more detailed than that of the Zhe-school—often we have works done in a light, precise, and elegant manner, similar to the brushwork of the Wu-school, and they are therefore mostly treated together with this school. In the Southern Song Academy there were two schools: One—consisting of the style of Ma Yuan and Xia Gui, with ink monochromes in forceful and vigorous brushwork—was during early Ming transformed by Dai Jin and others. The other style—i.e. this school—was

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also transformed according to the taste of the time, and the innovations were not few. This academic style, following the Li-Liu tradition, must be seen as a transitional style to the Wu-school.[67])

...

Zhou Chen and Tang Yin are said to belong to the Zhao-Li-Liu tradition of the Southern Song, but Zhou Chen's paintings seem to be products of a style transitional between the Northern and Southern School, while Tang Yin's works more resemble the Southern School.[68])

The painters labelled by Nakamura and Kojika as stylistic ancestors to this style actually practiced somewhat different styles: Zhao Boju and his brother Zhao Bosu were members of the Song imperial family. Both were famous for their landscape paintings in the *qinglü/jinbi* modes.[69]) The landscape style practiced by the brothers was characterized by an abundance of finely drawn details done with a small and pointed brush and very decorative colouring. The most famous early painters of this type of landscape were Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao of the Tang imperial family. The close association of these painters with the Court caused later art historians to classify them among the Academy painters. Li Tang, who was more or less contemporary with Zhao Boju, started according to old sources to paint in the manner of Li Sixun, before he developed his own style, influenced by the landscape painter Fan Kuan of the Northern Song dynasty. This new style was clearly different from the *qinglü-jinbi* modes, being less decorative in motif as well as in colouring. The style of Liu Songnian can be characterized as an intermediate style between the Li Tang mode and the *qinglü* tradition—a convenient link for those who wish to classify these modes together.

All the Ming-painters classified in this group by Nakamura–Kojika are in traditional Chinese handbooks associated in one way or other with the *qinglü-jinbi* modes or with the Li-Liu tradition. It is, however, today impossible seriously to discuss the style of these painters as a group, as we lack signed paintings by several of them. Significantly, Sirén's lists do not record paintings by the following artists: Zhou Yanxiang, Chen Yan, Shen Zhao, Zhu sheng, Zhang Huan, and Shen Shuo. Besides, the paintings recorded under the name of the legendary immortal Leng Qian seem to be an odd mixture of fakes.[70]) There remain only Shi Rui from Hangzhou and Zhou Chen, Tang Yin, You Qiu and Chen Luo from the Suzhou area, of whom Chen Luo is a much later artist (active in the Wanli era) who worked in a very eclectic manner, even making paintings in the style of Wen Zhengming. I doubt if Nakamura and Kojika really knew paintings by all the artists they classified in the group. It is more likely that their classification to a very large extent was founded on the study of older literary sources. The fact that Qiu Ying is haphazardly excluded from the group, despite the obvious stylistic relationship between him and You Qiu, also indicates that the Nakamura–Kojika classification was not based on an analysis of actual paintings from the period.

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Neither in the translation of Nakamura–Kojika, nor in Chen Hengque's painting history, do we find the term "*yuanti*" to designate the painters in the Li Tang, Liu Songnian and Zhao Boju traditions. Instead they are alternately called "the Li-Liu tradition", "the Zhao-Li-Liu-tradition", and "one of the academic (*yuanti*) schools".[71])

In Pan Tianshou's history of painting, dated 1927, by Yu Zhaosong characterized as a direct translation of Nakamura–Kojika's work, the term "*yuan*" has been used to designate these painters. Qiu Ying is included in the group, while Zhou Chen has been "banished" to the Zhe-school.[72]) Susan Bush says that the term "*yuanti*" is used in the translation by Chen Binhe in 1928 of the history of painting by Omura Seigai dated 1899.[73]) In Zheng Chang's history of painting, dated 1929 find the term "*yuan*"-school used to designate these painters.[74]) Otherwise, Zheng Chang follows Nakamura/Kojika very closely when discussing Ming-painting, even borrowing phrases. A revealing detail is that not even Zheng Chang includes Qiu Ying among the Yuanti painters.

In his history of Chinese painting (1. ed.: 1937), Yu Jianhua has further elaborated the stylistic scheme:

The school copying Liu-Li
(1) Those copying Liu Songnian: You Qiu → Zhou Fengyi (You Qiu's son-in-law)
(2) Those copying Li Tang: Shen Yu
Shen Zhao
(3) The school copying Liu-Li, which developed into a separate Academic (*yuan*) school in Ming:
Chen Xian → Zhou Chen → Wu Qiulin
Qiu Ying → Cheng Huan
Tang Yin → Zhu sheng
Xiao Chen[75])

But in an article of later date Yu Jianhua regrets having classified Tang Yin and Qiu Ying as members of the Yuanti-school:

The tradition of the Yuan-school was based on the Tang painter Li Sixun and his son, the Southern Song painters Li Tang, Liu Songnian, and Zhao Boju and his brother, and on Zhao Mengfu of the Yuan dynasty. This is what most histories of painting say. I, too, previously held this opinion, but after recent investigations, I have come to realize that the classification of Tang and Qiu among the Yuan-school is open to discussion.[76])

If we concentrate on painters with a verifiable oeuvre, and subtract Tang Yin and Qiu Ying from Yu Jianhua's earlier group of Yuanti-painters, we come to the somewhat surprising result that Zhou Chen is left as the sole representative of this school.

Yu Jianhua's regrets, however, do not seem to have influenced the use of the

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term *yuanti*. In Chinese the term is now more or less used as Yu used it originally. It is also used by non-Chinese art historians:

Yonezawa distinguishes a group under the heading "The Neo-Academic School":

> Towards the end of the 15th century leadership in the world of painting passed from professional artists to literary men. It should not be overlooked that during the period when this change occured, there appeared an important faction that stood somewhere in between the two main groups. This was the Neo-Academic School, which took as its patriarch Ch'en Ch'üeh [Chen Jue], a member of the Academy during the Southern Sung, but also adopted much from the Yüan artists Chao Mengfu [Zhao Mengfu] and Sheng Mao.[77])

This Chen Jue whom Yonezawa makes the patriarch of the Yuanti-school was an obscure Academy painter active at the very end of the Song dynasty. His son Chen Lin was a friend of Zhao Mengfu's. According to literary sources Sheng Mao, who also came from a family of professional painters, studied painting for a while under Chen Lin.[78]) And Chen Gongfu—the teacher of Zhou Chen's teacher—painted in the style of Sheng Mao. This is probably the reason why Yonezawa made Chen Jue the patriarch of the Yuanti-school, despite our total lack of knowledge regarding his actual style.

Sirén names the group "Eclectics and professionals" and includes in it, in addition to the major artists Zhou Chen, Tang Yin and Qiu Ying, some minor artists painting in their style, for example You Qiu and Tang Yin's friend Zhang Ling.[79])

Cahill treats Zhou Chen, Tang Yin and Qiu Ying as one group, stylistically midway between the Zhe and the Wu schools, and names them "The Soochow Professional Masters".[80])

I have summarized above the use of the term "yuanti" as it is found in the best-known art histories. Despite all divergencies, it is still possible to sum up certain facts regarding the painters usually classified here:

Social status: The painters classified here belonged to the professional class. The only one who occupied a position between professional status and that of a literati painter was Tang Yin, who—even if he sold his paintings on the open market—was one of the famous literati in Suzhou.

Period: The activities of these artists spanned both early and middle Ming, but the major artists were active in middle Ming (late 15th and the first half of the 16th century). Only the court painter Shi Rui was active in the first half of the 15th century.

Locality: The majority of the painters—and all associated with the Li Tang tradition—were from Suzhou and its surrounding areas. Only the early Ming painter Shi Rui came from another area.

I have excluded Shi Rui from the following discussion, as he was active in another period and a different geographic area, and also had a somewhat different

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stylistic heritage. No doubt there must have been more professionals outside Suzhou who continued the *gongbi* traditions. It has, however, been impossible to examine this question here—the material is scattered, the paintings probably mostly labelled with the names of earlier artists. I have therefore limited my examination to the stylistic relationship between the major artists of Suzhou.

Zhou Chen and Tang Yin

It seems likely that Tang Yin was influenced by the style of Zhou Chen shortly after the examination scandal. He must at that time have been an experienced calligrapher, with a certain knowledge of literati painting, and great artistic talent. The art of both painters probably benefited from the acquaintance. For a period, their paintings seem to have been very similar in style, with a strong inclination towards the Li Tang tradition. After the return of Tang Yin from the court of the Prince of Ning, he developed a personal style, quite different from that of Zhou Chen. The best of Tang Yin's landscapes from these years are done with a refined simplicity—a few swift strokes, some softly graded washes. Fine examples are "Gathering Lotus-seeds", NPM, Taipei,[81]) and "Drunken Fisherman by a Reed Bank", Crawford coll.[91]) It was probably also during this period he did most of his ink bamboos and flower motifs—genres not practiced by Zhou Chen.

If we make a superficial comparison between the styles of these two painters, we find that Tang had a broader scope and repertory than had Zhou. Generally, Tang's paintings also show more variation in brushwork, as demonstrated by Jiang Zhaoshen.[83]) The two painters exhibit similar habits in the use of the brush (holding, pressing, lifting, etc.). But especially in his late phase Tang seems to have preferred a worn brush (*tubi*), while Zhou Chen mostly used a pointed brush. As regards their compositions, Zhou stuck to his stage-like, static organization of space, while Tang was more dynamic and inventive. We can see Tang's more daring and unconventional attitude in his paintings in the Li Tang mode.

Some of the paintings by Tang Yin in the Li Tang mode are, however, quite similar to Zhou Chen's style. I will therefore briefly analyse those paintings by Tang which exhibit the greatest likenesses to Zhou's works, in order to see if they might be "ghost-paintings": "

Riding Homewards on a Donkey": The composition is much more dynamic than that found in Zhou's oeuvre. The brushwork is more simplified and daring than is that of Zhou Chen. We find the very striking contrast between light and dark planes typical of Tang's style, but rarely carried to such an extreme in Zhou's oeuvre.[84])

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"*Returning Home Carrying a Lute*": The brushwork is very like Zhou's, although it is more daring, while the very strong contrast between light and dark planes is typical of Tang. The figure painting is similar to that of both masters, but the position of the scholar—a tiny man balancing a mighty landscape—points to the hand of Tang, as does the dynamic composition.[85])

"*Looking at a Waterfall and Listening to the Wind*": The brushwork is somewhat firmer than Zhou's, the texture strokes typical of Tang. The composition is more daring than that found in Zhou's oeuvre.[86])

"*Enjoying the Pure Breeze in a Thatched Pavilion*": The brushwork is more variegated than in Zhou's oeuvre, the texture strokes are typical of Tang. The dynamic curves in the distant mountains also reveal Tang's hand.[87])

"*Tall Mountains and Strange Trees*": The composition shows trace of Zhou's influence, but is more dynamic and inventive than are most of Zhou's compositions. The variegated texture strokes indicate Tang's hand.[88])

"*Whispering Pines on a Mountain Path*" (pl. 59): The manner of painting figures and pines is similar Zhou's, but the brushwork is more audacious, and the vista over the mountain landscape is rendered with a bravura often found in Tang's works in the Li Tang mode.

"*Fishing in Seclusion among Streams and Mountains*": The brushwork is firmer than that we have found in Zhou Chen's oeuvre. The texture strokes are of a type often used by Tang Yin.[89])

"*Watching the Waterfall*": This folding fan is similar to those by Zhou as regards of brushwork and figure-painting. It might be an early work by Tang, from a period when he was deeply influenced by Zhou. The small amount of work involved in painting a folding fan makes it less likely that Tang would bother to commission a "ghost-painting" of this type from an established artist.[90])

"*Reciting Poems by a Mountain Torrent*": This painting is more reminiscent of Zhou than of Tang, although less free in its relationship to the Song style than most works by either of these artists. If we study the inscriptions on the painting more closely, we can at least rule out the idea that this might be a "ghost-painting": The motif of the painting is a scholar leisurely seated beside a mountain stream. A crane—one of the most common symbols for longevity in China—stands on a rock in the foreground. The motif fits very well with the inscriptions, which state that this was a work done as a birthday present for a septuagenarian. The inscription in the upper right corner consists of a poem, where seven of the old man's friends have each contributed one line. In the post-script to the poem—dated 1527—it is stated that the man's name was Mei Yu. I have been unable to identify either him or any of the other seven men. Probably none of them were outstanding men of letters. To the left is an inscription signed "Tang Yin from Sutai [i.e. Suzhou]". Even this inscription mentions the birthday celebration of the septuagenarian. The calligraphy, however, lacks the force and technical mastery which characterize Tang's handwriting—not to mention the fact that in

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1527 Tang had been dead for a couple of years. There is little reason to believe that someone added an inscription by seven totally unknown men to a painting which already carried an inscription by Tang Yin. On the contrary, the addition of Tang Yin's signature to a painting lacking "selling names" is very likely. Thus, the Tang Yin inscription is probably a later interpolation. Whether the original painter signed his painting or not is here of minor importance. If he in fact did, his signature must have been excised when the art dealer found Tang Yin a more lucrative name. The painting must have been done by an artist who knew the Li Tang mode of the Yuanti painters very well. It has a certain likeness to Zhou Chen's landscapes in this mode, but the brush-work seems stiffer and more mechanical. It can at least be deleted from the list of possible "ghost-paintings".[91])

"*Exchanging Reminiscences in a Thatched Cottage*" (pl. 12): This composition, which exists in two versions, both with seemingly authentic inscriptions by Tang, is discussed above. The fact that the composition exists in two almost identical versions might signify a demand for Tang's paintings greater than the artist's inventiveness. It seems also to have been a common feature among the literati painters of middle Ming Suzhou to repeat their own compositions on certain occasions. The structure of these two paintings is more static than is usual in Tang's oeuvre, its spatial organization is similar to a type often found in Zhou's works. On the other hand, the brushwork, especially in the version reproduced in *Tang Liuru huaji*, exhibits a greater likeness to that of Tang than to that of Zhou.

I hope that the discussion above has shown that even if the theory that Zhou Chen worked as a "ghost-painter" for Tang Yin cannot be discarded categorically, it should at least be treated with some caution. On the whole the similarities between paintings by these two masters are better explained as being the result of mutual influence than as "ghost-painting".

Zhou Chen and Qiu Ying

Qiu Ying's style seems to have matured in the last years of his teachers life. At that time, formalism and eclectisism had become clearly manifest in art. This increasing interest in older styles became a major trend in Qiu's development. His versatility and diligence in copying have been commented upon by art historians from middle Ming, when Wang Shizhen said that there was not one master from Tang and Song he did not copy (see quotation above), and through the ages down to our time, when Max Loehr says:

Possibly Tung Ch'i-ch'ang [Dong Qichang]'s characterization, "he was Chao Po-chü [Zhao Boju] reborn", best sums up Ch'iu [Qiu] Ying's contribution, a combination of extreme skill and archaic subject-matter, or of technical perfection and stylistic versatility. The models acknowledged in Sirén's *List* comprise Chou [Zhou] Fang, Li Kung-lin [Gonglin], Li T'ang, Chao Po-chü, Liu Sung-

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nian [Songnian] and Tai Chin [Dai Jin], to whom we should add Chao [Zhao] Meng-fu, Wen Cheng-ming [Zhengming], and, of course, Chou [Zhou] Ch'en. The only group left out of account is that of the four Yüan masters < Huang, Wu, Ni, Wang >. Its ommission goes some way to establish Ch'iu's position, that of a protagonist of encyclopaedism unconcerned with a personal style. It is a position in keeping with the aims of a professional rather than those of the scholar or amateur struggling for self-expression, for a style of his own.[92])

It can be no doubt that Qiu Ying was a more diligent copyist than the earlier Yuanti-masters, but I do think that the above-mentioned critics give a somewhat exaggerated picture of his activities. Admittedly, Qiu was extremely versatile, even for his time, but I contest the myth of Qiu Ying as an universal-genius in copying Tang and Song. If we scrutinize what he (or his patrons) chose as prototypes for copying, we find that far more painters are omitted than merely the literati painters of Yuan. The monumental landscape painters of the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song, as well as the lyrical landscapists of the Ma-Xia-school, were rarely the subject of his interest. Cahill wonders if Qiu Ying, given the opportunity of studying the early Renaissance masters for a couple of days, would not have been able to produce a portrait in the Quattrocento style of his patron Xiang Yuanbian as a Florentine nobleman.[93]) Cahill may have a point there, but is it merely by chance that he has chosen the cool and meticulous style patronized by the intellectual Florentine merchant aristocracy, and not for example Flemish Baroque? In other words, Qiu Ying seems to have chosen to copy paintings which suited his precise and crisp brushwork. And he seems mostly to have limited himself to Song courtly styles from before the flourishing of the Ma-Xia school and to the styles of different Ming professionals. This is in accordance with the trend we found in Zhou Chen's oeuvre, although there is a greater number of *gongbi* prototypes in Qiu's art.

Marilyn and Shen Fu have divided Qiu's figure paintings into three main categories—a division which can be applied to the whole of Qiu's oeuvre: A slightly coloured "garden style" executed with a relatively bold brush, a heavily coloured "palace style", done in tight, meticulous line, and a monochrome outline (*baimiao*) style.[94])

The "garden style" is a further development of Zhou Chen's and Tang Yin's version of the Li Tang mode, with less attention paid to the linear qualities—instead the interest is focused on texture strokes. The "palace style" is a continuation of the age-old decorative *qinglü* manner. Zhou Chen was not especially interested in this stylistic tradition, but we have seen that he utilized certain elements from this more decorative mode in his late paintings—Qiu's "palace style" might be seen as a further development of this trend. The *baimiao* mode seems never to have attracted Zhou—Qiu must have attained his mastery in this field by studying old masters. The *baimiao* technique was inherited by Qiu Ying's son-in-law, You Qiu, who did a large number of paintings in flawless

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baimiao style, although his brushwork lacked the featherlight quality characteristic of Qiu's style.

The new trends in Suzhou painting (including the ever increasing interest in old styles) influenced Qiu to such an extent that his works seem quite different from those of the older generation of Suzhou professionals: His paintings lack the sweeping brushwork of Zhou Chen and Tang Yin, and he shows far less sensitivity to linear qualities: There is an extensive use of *cefeng* in his pictures. He also often added coloured washes before the ink of the inner and outer contours had dried, thus blurring the lines, but capturing the quality of the texture. The colouring was also heavier and more decorative than that generally preferred by Zhou and Tang.

Zhou Chen and Tang Yin generally have a clear focus in their paintings, and this main scene is usually located in the middle ground. Qiu's compositions are quite different. He creates a wide space, often seen from a very low point of view, or, quite the opposite, from a bird's-eye view, with little or no repoussoir and often a quite narrow middle ground. The same attention is paid to more or less all objects inside this space, resulting in a certain narrative quality. Often his fragile scholars seem to be on the point of disappearing, totally overshadowed as they are by the meticulously drawn surroundings.

The paintings by Zhou and Qiu share, however, some significant characteristics. Both draw much inspiration from the academy styles of Song, although shunning the more lyrical Ma-Xia mode. Their paintings mostly display a refined brushwork, we rarely find heavy strokes or broad washes.

Is there a Yuanti-style?

The use of the term "Yuanti school" (or "Yuanti style") for middle Ming professional painting in Suzhou has two implications:

1) That the professional painters of middle Ming practiced at least two different styles: The Zhe-style and the Yuanti-style.
2) That during this period two different styles co-existed inside one and the same geographic area, namely the styles of the Wu-school and the Yuanti-school.

As regards the relationship between paintings by the masters of the so-called Zhe-school and Yuanti-school, we find clear differences between the majority of the works belonging to the respective schools. The traditions of Li Tang and *qinglü* painting were the main sources of inspiration for Yuanti painters, while Zhe-painters traced their ancestry back to the Ma-Xia tradition of Southern Song. The brushwork of the Zhe-painters was mostly heavier and more flashy than that of the Yuanti artists – they made extensive use of "big axecut" strokes (*da fupi cun*) and broad washes. These virtuosi of the brush mostly preferred very subdued colouring in order to make a better display of their forceful brushwork,

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while we find somewhat richer colouring in works by the Yuanti-masters. Zhe-artists seem also to have been more interested in atmospheric effects – a heritage from the Song Ma-Xia school. Zhou Chen was influenced to a certain extent by the Zhe-painters and even did a few works clearly in the Zhe-style. The majority of his paintings, however, are in a style quite different from that of the Zhe-school.

I have not had the opportunity of investigating the relationship between the Yuanti-paintes of Suzhou and professionals who worked in a *gongbi* style outside Suzhou, the best-known being the early Ming artist Shi Rui. The last-mentioned painters are sometimes classified as belonging to the Zhe-school, sometimes to the Yuanti-school. Later investigations will perhaps better elucidate the geographical extent of the Yuanti-style, and suggest whether the works by these non-Suzhou professionals should be classified with those by the Yuanti-painters into one style, or whether their works represent a minor, independent style.

Many art historians have felt somewhat ill at ease about the classification of the painters in Suzhou into two different schools. This is, however, nothing exceptional in art history. As Shapiro says:

> ... there are cultures with two or more collective styles of art at the same moment. This phenomenon is often associated with arts of different function or with different classes of artists. ... in higher cultures the stratification of social classes often entails a variety of styles, not only with respect to the rural and urban, but within the same urban community.[95])

In the case of the middle Ming painters in Suzhou, we find a clear social stratification between the literati painters of the Wu-school and the professionals of the Yuanti-school. Their different social status effected their training in a decisive manner: The professionals were mostly trained during years of apprenticeship in painting ateliers, where the painting techniques of earlier dynasties had been handed down from generation to generation. Here they learned to control the often very complicated techniques of Song painting. The literati learned painting as an occupation of leisure. They never learned (nor did they want to learn) the intricate techniques of Song academy painting. Instead they first and foremost concentrated their training on the literati painting of Yuan.

The different social status of the painters were clearly reflected in the relationship between artist and patron: The literati painted for friends and acquaintances, who mostly shared their taste, or at least had the decency to pretend to. The professionals painted for a more open and often less refined marked, which often made quite specific demands on their art.

The different social status also influenced the function of art in a subtle way. Although the paintings of both schools were intended to be hung in halls or enjoyed in studios, and were consequently mounted in the same way, the

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expectations on their expressive content were different. The painters of the Wu-school were men of high social standing, painting in order to express their personalities. Their paintings were expected to express learning and refinement, not technical brilliance. This is a reflection of the Confucian philosophy – the true gentleman should not be judged by his proficiency in certain trades, but by his inner qualities. As the *Analects* say: "The true gentleman is no utensil".[96]) Professionals were not considered as belonging to the class of true gentlemen, and whatever they might have wanted to express would have been found quite irrelevant by their patrons. Besides often having a representative function, their paintings were expected to give pleasure and evoke admiration because of technical virtuosity.

It thus seems relevant to discuss middle Ming painting in Suzhou in terms of two different styles: A literati style, which chose its prototypes from the literati art of earlier dynasties, especially from Yuan, and a professional style, which in much continued the traditions of the Li Tang and *qinglü* modes.

During early Ming, literati painting had a very exclusive distribution. Even if there were certain contacts between amateur and professional painters (cf. the friendship between Du Qiong and Chen Xian), it is difficult to know whether there was any mutual influence, as we know very little about what works by professional Suzhou artists actually looked like. In the late 15th and early 16th century, literati art seems to have reached a somewhat greater segment of the population, first and foremost through the art of Shen Zhou. Its impact on professional painting seems, however, to have been of little significance; instead professionals turned to Zhe-artists and the Song Academy tradition for inspiration. From the early Jiajing era onwards, the two styles in Suzhou developed in more or less the same direction, mutually influencing each other. Anne Clapp has pointed out the common links between the painters of the Wu-school and the Yuanti-school in this period, namely increasing eclecticism and formalism.[97])

After Wen Zhengming had emerged as the leading personality of the Suzhou cultural elite, setting the standard for painting and calligraphy, the great prestige attached to his style induced numerous painters, among whom many were professionals, to work in his manner. Even if in these late works of the Wu-school we can find traces of influence from the Yuanti-painters, the literati tradition in the area is the main source of inspiration. We can no longer talk of an independent professional tradition in Suzhou. In many respects, paintings of the Yuanti-school thus represent a terminal style, from which no road was to lead forward. But the influence of these painters on the art of wood-cuts of later periods is impressive – in this context the art of the Yuanti-painters constitutes a style of major importance in Chinese pictorial history.

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(8) ICONOGRAPHY

The Landscape of Conspicuous Leisure

The countryside surrounding Suzhou is beautiful and variegated. To the east and southeast of the city there are placid waterside sceneries – verdant fields intersected by numerous lakes and canals, where calm water reflects the supple willows along the banks. To the west and southwest of the city there are mountainous regions, where the wanderer is offered fine vistas of hill after hill. The peaks are mostly quite low, the highest being about 1000 feet above sea level, but the scenery has often rare and harmonious beauty, for example where the East and West Dongting Mountains meet Lake Taihu's wide expanse of water, or where the strange rock formations of the Tianping Mt. rise above the shady trees and silent ponds at the foot of the mountain. Small paths leading to temples and pagodas wind along the mountain slopes, where a sparse growth of low pines and brambles alternates with a denser vegetation of leafy trees and tea plantations. At the foot of the hills and mountains and along the banks of lakes and canals there are small villages with whitewashed houses below tall trees, surrounded by bamboo groves and mulberry and fruit trees.

Waterside scenery outside Suzhou (Guangfu)

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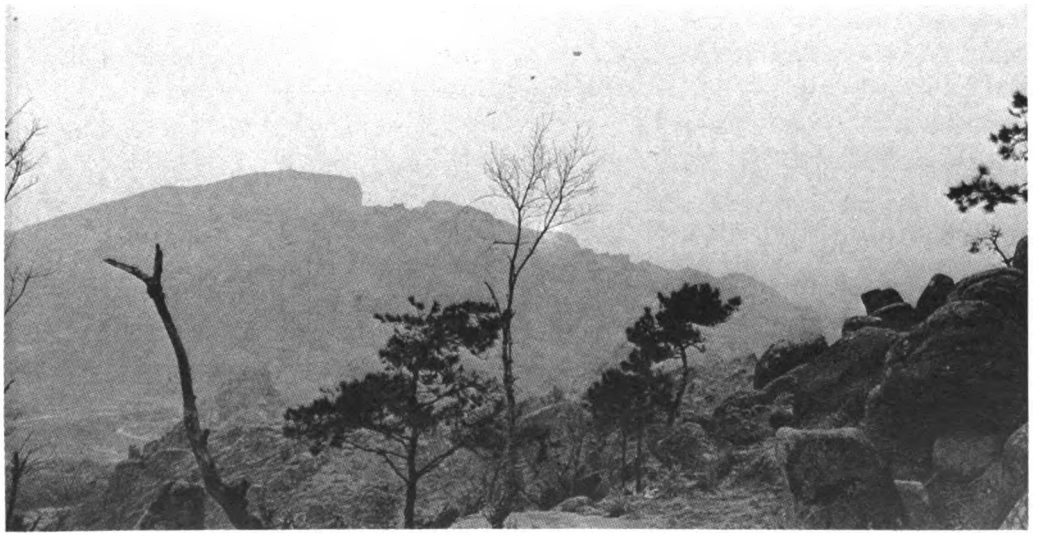
Elements of this harmonious Suzhou landscape are found in most of Zhou Chen's paintings, combined with decorative garden elements, such as elaborate pavilions and Taihu rocks. In his art, however, we also find more dramatic elements than in reality. The steeply rising mountain peaks and majestic pines would be difficult to find around Suzhou, and it seems that Zhou has exaggerated and reshaped important elements to fit the painting into the stylistic framework of Li Tang. This manner of handling visual reality gives his landscapes a quality of being from everywhere and nowhere.

The citizens of Suzhou were proud of their city, of its long history and beautiful surroundings. During middle Ming, it thus became popular among the literati painters to make topographic depictions of the different scenic spots in the area, with place names added to the painting. Although Zhou Chen often used elements from the Suzhou landscapes in his works, he never seems to have made this kind of direct topographic depiction. He mostly avoided this type of plain statement about clearly identified scenic sport; instead he often arranged his elements in a stylistic pattern to which was attached the prestige of an ancient mode.

A similar topographic interest manifested itself in garden paintings, which gained great popularity during middle Ming. Owners of famous gardens



The Tianping Mountain

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Tianchi (in the outskirts of Suzhou)

competed to have their properties portrayed by well-known artists. Zhou Chen's paintings of identifiable gardens are now lost. Among the different recorded works, I have selected one painting to elucidate the relationship between Zhou Chen's garden paintings and his landscapes: The handscroll "Brocade Creek Garden", depicting the garden of a certain Zheng Wenqing from Hangzhou, resident in Suzhou. The name of the garden is mentioned in Zhou Chen's signature. In a colophone from 1628, Cai Yu states that the garden was given its name because Zheng Wenqing had cultivated lotus-flowers in a creek so that it looked like a brocade cover. The painting, which was done in colours on silk, is described in the *Shiqu baoji sanbian* in the following way:

Lotus-flowers shaded by willow-trees. A clear stream surrounding the house. A man is sitting, leaning against the railing. One man approaches from beyond the bridge. Another man is walking on the bridge, followed by an attendant with a *qin*. (See appendix)

Except for the lotus-flowers, the pecularity of this garden, the description fits the greater part of Zhou Chen's landscape scrolls. This indicates that the boundary between Zhou's garden paintings and his landscapes was not very clear. I suspect that even many of his landscape paintings might have functioned as a kind of

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Countryside scenery outside Suzhou (Guangfu)

garden painting. The owner could – if he wanted to – identify Zhou's landscape with his own property. Zhou's manner of fusing real Suzhou landscape and garden elements into an inherited stylistic framework made this kind of identification rather easy.

The above discussion supports Wang Chideng's criticism of Zhou Chen as one who did not gain distinction in the rendering of a gloomy and desolate atmosphere nor in the mood of distant and tranquil places (quoted above). It is likewise obvious that this was not what Zhou Chen aimed at. When looking at Zhou's many landscapes, one easily associates them with parks and garden scenes, where men of leisure are strolling around. The men in his landscapes are seldom peasants or fishermen. Only in a few genre scenes do we find depictions of these hard-working classes, which formed the overwhelming majority of the population in Ming China. His landscapes are instead peopled by men of a more leisurely occupation. These were also the men who were the major patrons of his art.

When we examine the kinds of occupations most frequently represented in his paintings, we find a certain difference between the scrolls and the folding fans: On the scrolls the most common motif shows guests approaching a retreat, where the host sits enjoying the scenery. I will call this the "arriving guest motif". This is

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the main theme in the following paintings: "Enjoying a Secluded Life in a Mountain Dwelling", "Visiting a Friend among Mountain Streams and Pines", "A Gathering of Philosophers", "Men in a Pavilion on the Steep Banks of a Mountain Stream", (pl. 2), "The Northern Sea", (pl. 6-9), "Playing Chess by a Window below Pines", (pl. 21), "Riverside Leisure", (pl. 13), and "Visiting Friends amidst Snowy Mountains". (Some variation on this theme is found in "Playing Chess", where the host is playing chess insted of enjoying the scenery, and in "Riverside Leisure", where we only see an attendant arriving with a *qin* and not the guest). In the scroll "Yiwan" (pl. 303) we find only one half of the motif – the host of the pavilion enjoying the scenery – while the arriving guest is lacking. "Farewell at the Brushwood Gate" (pl. 27) depicts a scene of departure instead of arrival. "Calling on a Friend" (pl. 22) is a very particular variation on the "ariving guest" motif – the "guest" being the king's emissary, the "host", the famous Taoist statesman Zhuge Liang. The idea of conspicuous leisure seems, thus, to be lacking in this picture.

On folding fans this motif is rarely found in its complete form – the limited format being a hindrance. In "Scholar Looking at a Waterfall" (pl. 55b) and "Ferry on the River" (pl. 57) we see the arriving scholar and the thatched pavilion, but not the host, in "Water Pavilions and Paths amidst Pine Valleys" (pl. 54) and "Pavilion among Windswept Trees" (pl. 58b) we see the host in his pavilion, but not the approaching guests.

In almost all these paintings, the position of the arriving guest is emphasized by his being in the act of crossing a bridge. The only exceptions are "Men in a Pavilion", where the mounted scholar still has some distance to ride before reaching the bridge, and "Ferry on the River", where the guest is arriving by boat.

The other main occupation represented in Zhou's landscapes is the motif of listening to the sounds of nature—to the wind in the pines and the splashing of water in a mountain torrent. I will call this the "listening" motif.

This is the main motif in the scrolls "Listening to the Mountain Stream" (pl. 20), "Poetical Thoughts among Pines and Streams" (pl. 24) and "Yiwan" (pl. 30–31). Combined with the "arriving guest motif" we find it in "A Gathering of Philosophers" and "The Northern Sea" (pl. 6–9). The literati on the bridge in "Visiting a Friend" are probably also intended to represent men in the act of listening to the fall of water.

Among the fans, we find the motif in its purest form in "Listening to the Song in the Pines" (pl. 51), "Listening to the Cascades of Water" (pl. 56), and "Man with a Goosefeather Fan" (pl. 53). But, even the literati in the "Conversation below Pines" (pl. 52) and "Lucid Talk amidst Pine Shadows" (pl. 50) seem to be listening to the wind in the pines, while those in "Leisurely Talk in a Pine-shaded Pavilion" and "Scholar Looking at a Waterfall" (pl. 55 b) seem to be listening to the sound of the mountain torrents.

The motif of "lucid talk"—the enlightened conversation between close

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friends—is rather seldom depicted, and almost always in connection with the "listening" motif. In "Secluded Dwelling in a Snowy Landscape", "Visiting a Friend amidst Snowy Mountains", "Conversation below Pines" (pl. 52) and "Lucid Talk amidst Pine Shadows" (pl. 50), the scholars seem engaged in conversation, while at the same time the motif of "listening" is strongly suggested in the two last-mentioned scrolls. In the scrolls "Listening to the Mountain Stream" (pl. 20) and "Poetical Thoughts" (pl. 24) the "listening" motif seems to predominate the conversation.

As regards other scholarly activities, they are but rarely rendered. We have one representation of chess playing (pl. 21). In "Playing Chess" we also see a scholar in his study, but otherwise activities such as reading and writing are seldom depicted. (In "Riverside Leisure" (pl. 13) there is a man playing the flute, but this is an instrument not unambiguously associated with the literati culture—it is also the instrument of the peasants and fishermen in China.)

An interesting detail is the frequency with which Zhou Chen painted a lute-carrying attendant. Actually, almost one half of the many attendants found in Zhou Chen's oeuvre carry well-wrapped lutes. But we seldom see the lute unwrapped and in use. It reminds one of the importance of the pianoforte in Victorian households—its mere existence seems to warrant a life of refined occupations.

In other words, most of the literati in Zhou's paintings are represented either as seated or wandering around, but they are invariably enjoying the beauty of nature. Their activities are rendered in a quite stereotype manner, the all-dominant emphasis being on the pose of leisure.

In his study regarding the different phenomena connected with conspicuous leisure, Veblen made the following reflection:

> Refined tastes, manners, and habits of life are a useful evidence of gentility, because good breeding requires time, application, and expense, and can therefore not be compassed by those whose time and energy are taken up with work.[28])

For several centuries, the Chinese upper class had considered the enjoyment of nature as a demonstration of refined taste. The literati's sophisticated enjoyment of nature is a typical example of the status-carrying occupations of conspicuous leisure. To share these pleasures of a leisurely life with men of learning and social standing increased the enjoyment—and also the prestige attached to these occupations. This social context is probably one of the explanantions behind the popularity of the "arriving guest" motif—to have these status-carrying occupations represented in art naturally added to the prestige.

In the oeuvres of most of the Suzhou literati painters, we find a certain difference between paintings usually classified as "landscapes" and those classified as "figures in landscapes": In the first-mentioned genre the modal

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approach is often quite pronounced, while paintings in the latter genre often are quite personal in character. As discussed above, a consistent modal approach did not really develop in Zhou Chen's art. Considering that all his landscapes are peopled by figures in more or less dominant positions, it seems meaningless to draw a boundary between "landscapes" and "figures in landscapes" in his oeuvre.

It is interesting to compare the occupations of the figures in Zhou Chen's landscapes with what is found in the "figures in landscape" by the literati painters of Suzhou: Common to both Zhou and the literati is the focussing on representations of conspicuous leisure. We find all Zhou's *Leit*-motifs in paintings by the Suzhou literati, but with a different frequency. The "arriving guest" motif is far less common, while we find representations of "lucid talk" much more often. Even departure scenes are more common than in Zhou's art. Only the motif of "listening" has more or less the same frequency. Furthermore, the occupations of leisure are rendered in a less stereotype manner in literati art, and we find a broader range of leisurely occupations.

I believe the main reason for the difference in frequency may be that paintings by literati functioned as a kind of prestigeous souvenirs: Many of their paintings were done in memory of a certain event—for themselves or for a participant. The moment of togetherness became important, something which favoured themes like lucid talk and departure scenes instead of motifs as that of "arriving guests", where figures enjoying nature were scattered all over the picture plane, with no mutual contact.

Compared to the many landscapes depicting conspicuous leisure, Zhou Chen's paintings depicting folk-life in a landscape setting are significantly few. He did, however, make a couple of rural scenes: "Fields in Summer Rain" and "Cockfight" (pl. 15). Both paintings show an interest in picturesque detail—as may be seen in the scene with the men struggling to repair the thatched roof during the storm in "Fields", and in the vivid observation of villagers' behaviour in "Cockfight". This too is a type of painting which lacks parallel in Contemporary literati painting, while the Zhe-painters would sometimes include genre scenes from rural life in their landscapes.

Genre scenes of this type do not constitute a major trend in the oeuvres of the Yuanti-painters. First and foremost they are interesting as a type of professional landscape painting which is clearly different from literati painting not only in mode, but also in motif.

I have not found any significant correlation between the types of people and occupations in a Zhou Chen landscape and the mode in which the painting is done. We find the same leisurely strolling scholars in landscape paintings in the Song tradition as in those influenced by the Zhe-school and literati painting. This should not surprise us when we take into account Zhou's pragmatic attitude towards ancient and new modes.

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school and literati painting. This should not surprise us when we take into account Zhou's pragmatic attitude towards ancient and new modes.

Figure Paintings

Frustrated Intellectuals

During Ming Suzhou was, as discussed above, a kind of centre for recluses with frustrated ambitions. The leisurely life of these intellectuals often had an undertone of bitterness—a sentiment mirrored in Zhou Chen's figure paintings.

If we look closer at the motif of "Leisurely Watching Children Playing with Willow-flowers" (pl. 14), we find a slight feeling of *ennui* behind its seemingly pleasant mood. The painting is an illustration to the poem "Wakening Up in Early Summer" by Yang Jian of the Song-dynasty. Although the motif is not identified in Zhou Chen's inscription, it must have been clearly recognizable to most people in Ming, as Yang Jian's poem was included in the widely circulated anthology *Qianjia shi*. The poem reads:

The sour taste of prunus lingers in my teeth
The banana leaves throw green shadows on my window's gauze
The day seems long—awakened from a doze I feel listless
Leisurely I watch the children playing with willow-flowers.[99])

Zhou's painting is almost a literal illustration to the poem: The children playing with willow-flowers, the scholar looking on, the banana tree and even the shadows of the banana leaves on the window are all there. In fact, the only poetical image omitted is the sour taste of prunus. This manner of illustrating a poem down to the slightest detail is clearly the continuation of a tradition of the Song Painting Academy, where regular competitions for the most apt illustrations to given poetical stanzas were held at court. Compared to the mood of the Song Academy paintings, however, Zhou's painting includes a slight note of dissatisfaction.

In a motif as "The Peach Blossom Valley" (pl. 5), discontent with contemporary society is implicitly expressed. In the poem Tao Yuanming describes a Utopian world in order to contrast it with the chaotic conditions of his own time. The meaning of this motif in middle Ming is clearly expressed in Shen Zhou's inscription on a painting with this motif:

The village filled with wails of men and women
And then the sounds of rent collectors banging doors
One night I could not fall asleep
I got up and searched for paper to paint the Peach Blossom Valley.[100])

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The motif must have carried a broad appeal in Suzhou—it is one of the few literary motifs found among professional and literati painters alike. Zhou Chen's extant version shows that he is a professional artist—it is more narrative and anecdotal than are most of the versions by literati painters, but it seems that even he made an abbreviated version: The painting on which Gu Lin inscribed the following poem:

The frosty pines on mountain tiers reach the azure clouds
The peach blossoms border the banks of a stream in spring
The cavity in the cliff suggests a fishing boat may enter
To reach the place where nobody knows the changes of this mundane world.[101])

If this painting was an illustration to "Peach Blossom Valley", his approach must have been similar to that of literati painters of the Wu-school.

Clear political overtones are also found in paintings such as "Qu Yuan Reciting Poems on his Wanderings" and "Ning Qi Feeding his Ox" (pl. 29): Qu Yuan was—according to tradition—a loyal minister who was slandered at court and subsequently banished. Despairing at the corruption in politics, he drowned himself in the Miluo River. The elegy *Li sao* in the *Songs of Chu*—traditionally ascribed Qu Yuan—is a long lament over the ruler who has dismissed his loyal servant while favouring evil ministers. To many of the recluses of Suzhou—to those who had withdrawn from politics in disgust, to those who had been ousted in factional strifes and court struggles, to ambitious men whose virtue the ruler had failed to appreciate—the Qu Yuan motif must have had a great appeal.

In Qu Yuan's poem *Li Sao* Ning Qi is mentioned as an example of a man whose qualities were appreciated by an elightened ruler: "Ning Ch'i sang as he fed his ox at evening; Duke Huan of Ch'i heard him and took him as his minister".[102]) *Huainan zi* records the first meeting between Ning Qi and this Duke Huan of Qi—one of the most powerful rulers in the Spring and Autumn period:

Ning Qi sang a lament, standing at the side of his carriage. Duke Huan sighed deeply and realised his talents.[103])

Gao You of the Han-dynasty commented:

Ning Qi fed his ox, standing besides his carriage. He tapped the rhythm on the horn of his ox, while singing a lament. Duke Huan realized his talents and made him his prime minister.[104])

The fate of Ning Qi was, thus, totally different from that of Qu Yuan. But the interpretation of the two motifs may have been quite similar: If hung in the home of an unemployed scholar, the Ning Qi motif must have been interpreted as a lament over the present ruler who did not possess the same virtue when selecting officials as did the rulers of the past.

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The Zhong Kui motif (pl. 49) probably also had political overtones. Zhong Kui was a man from Zhongnanshan (Nanshan) in Shaanxi who lived during the reign of Xuanzong (reign.per.: 713–56) of the Tang dynasty. Not permitted to enter imperial service owing to his ugliness, Zhong Kui committed suicide in despair. After his death he became a demon-queller.[105]) People liked to hang paintings of Zhong Kui in their homes to rid the houses of demons, but the motif also had a deeper significance: The upright man who wanted to rid the world of evil influences. This probably accounts for the popularity of the motif among the literati painters of Suzhou. The motif "Zhong Kui in a wintry forest" (*hanlin Zhong Kui*) enjoyed particular popularity among these literati, as it contained a homonym of the prestigeous Hanlin Academy.[106]) This "Hanlin Zhong Kui"-motif may also have influenced Zhou Chen, as he shows the demon-queller with his retinue travelling in a wintry landscape with bare trees, while earlier versions, such as those by Gong Kai and Yan Hui, show Zhong Kui and his retainers against a blank surface.[107])

Frustration regarding contemporary society often induced Chinese intellectuals to resort to Taoist and Buddhist philosophy and religion. Tang Yin took a great interest in Buddhism in later years, but we know nothing to this effect regarding Zhou Chen, and there is only one preserved painting by him with a Taoist motif—the hanging scroll "Immortal with Toad".

The motifs chosen by a professional painter like Zhou Chen do not always reflect his own views and personality, but clearly they mirror certain sentiments prevalent in contemporary society.

The Harsh Reality of the Street

To allow one's eye wander from Zhou Chen's pleasant landscape paintings to the painting "Beggars and Street Characters" (pl. 33–44) is literally almost like coming from the protected garden of a wealthy family directly out into a street in a slum area. Here are offered another aspect of leisure—the "leisure" of the unemployed and homeless.

Here, for once, Zhou Chen expresses his own views, when he writes: "... there came to my mind all the appearances and manners of the beggars and street characters whom I often saw in the streets and markets. With brush and ink ready at hand, I put them into pictures in an impromptu way. It may not be worthy of serious enjoyment, but it certainly can be considered as a warning and admonition to the world."

The 24 "beggars and street characters" depicted by Zhou as an admonition to the world certainly give a frightening picture of life in the lowest social stratum in Ming Suzhou. In this gallery of Suzhou's miserables, we find representations of many different categories of the beggars. Skeleton-like beggars, with tattered

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loin-cloths and a beggar's bag at their hip, are shown living their lives in the street, begging for alms or eating their wretched food with the rapacity typical of permanently under-nourished men. We also find a representative of the Chinese begging form called "martial begging" *(wuqi)* – the type of begging where the beggar possessed a certain herb-medicine with the power of staunching blood. Carrying a mace or some other weapon, the beggar would proceed to shops and inns, and, if he was not given alms, would beat himself until blood flowed. In the album we also find people exposing their handicaps in the hope of evoking mercy: Cripples with crutches and sticks, or creeping forwards on hands and feet, and blind men with tall staffs, led by animals. Street performers are also depicted: A blind drummer and a couple of actors with grotesquely painted faces and tattered costumes. This is indeed a pale reflection of the elegant theatre performances for which Suzhou was famed! There are animal trainers, such as a snake charmer and a man with a performing monkey. Performances with monkeys *(houxi)* had existed in China from at least the Han dynasty and onwards. We also find the characteristic story-teller with a bamboo-drum *(yugu)* and clappers *(jianban)*. Wandering around in streets and markets, the story-teller recited epics, beating out the rhythm with the help of drums and clappers. We also see a street sweeper, a monk with an alm's bowl, and some poor women with sacks on their backs – probably women on their way to a public distribution of grain.

Beggars must have been a rather common sight in Chinese cities during Ming. Some Western travellers in China during this period give short glimpses of the situation of beggars. De Rada says:

> We also saw poor people who went begging through the streets, especially blind. [108])

And Gaspar da Cruz says:

> ... A great help to this is that idle people be much abhorred in this country, and are very odious unto the rest, and he that laboreth not shall not eat, for commonly there is none that do give alms to the poor; wherefore, if any poor man did ask alms of a Portugal, and he did give it to him, the Chinas did laugh at him and asked him mockingly: "Why givest thou alms to this which is a knave? Let him go and earn it." Only some jesters have some reward, standing on some high place where they gather the people around them and tell them some fables to get something. The fathers and priests of their idols are commonly abhorred and not esteemed, because they hold them for idle people, ...[109])

The description given by da Cruz fits the Zhou Chen painting surprisingly well. Obviously the story-teller is the best situated of the lot. Well-nourished and well-groomed he stands quite apart from the under-nourished beggars. It is also interesting that da Cruz mentions the monks together with the beggars.

These Western travellers described the conditions in South China generally – Suzhou was no different. The beginning of capitalism in Jiangnan resulted in an increase in the number of the landless. Especially in times of economic crisis,

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there were many homeless and unemployed. Rice-producing Jiangnan was very sensitive to drought, and in the flat Suzhou-area even inundations were common, so that years of famine occurred frequently. The list of catastrophes recorded in local gazetters varies from edition to edition, and we must allow for a certain amount of exaggeration in some lists, as many officials reported mishaps great and small in agriculture in order to obtain a reduction in taxes. We must, however, assume that the reports generally had a basis in reality – otherwise, the central government sooner or later reacted sharply. Below, I give a summary of the list of harvests in the Suzhou-area from 1450 (the approximate period of Zhou Chen's birth) to 1516 (the year "Beggars and Street Characters" was painted) as it is recorded in the late Ming-edition of *Wuxian zhi:*

Jingtai	1. year	1450	Great flood
	3. year	1452	Flood in summer.
	5. year	1454	The winter of 1453/54 extremely cold. In summer a great flood – fields and houses partly inundated. In autumn drought. In some places the price of one peck of rice was 100 copper coins. Many starved to death. Serious epidemics.
	6. year	1455	In summer serious epidemics. In autumn bad harvest. The price of rice was 100 copper coins. Many starved to death.
	7. year	1456	In autumn great flood. Harvesting from boats. In winter drought.
Tianshun	1. year	1457	Great flood. No harvest in autumn.
	2. year	1458	Drought in autumn. Locusts damaged the grain. Rice expensive. Famine.
	3. year	1459	Flood.
	4. year	1460	Flood in the 5th month damaged the grain. The price of one peck of rice was 100 copper coins.
	5. year	1461	Heavy wind and rain in the 7th month, water from the lake inundated houses, etc. Many died.
	6. year	1462	Flood.
	8. year	1464	Great flood. Famine.
Chenghua	1. year	1465	Heavy rain during spring and summer. The wheat sprouts rotted. The price of one peck of rice was 100 copper coins.
	2. year	1466	Flood.
	3. year	1467	Flood.
	7. year	1471	Flood.
	9. year	1473	Great flood.
	11. year	1475	Great flood damaged the grain fields.
	12. year	1476	Flood in the 8th month.
	14. year	1478	Flood in the 5th month.
	16. year	1480	Flood of catastrophic dimensions. Famine.
	17. year	1481	Great drought. Locusts ate the grain. From the 9th to the 10th month continual rain. The remaining grain inundated, rotted. Next spring great famine.

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	18. year	1482	Spring and summer ample rain. Double harvest.
	19. year	1483	Great harvest in autumn.
	20. year	1484	Floods in the 5th and 6th month. Great harvest in autumn.
	21. year	1485	Drought in autumn.
	22. year	1486	Flood.
Hongzhi	1. year	1488	5th month heavy rain, the grain fields inundated.
	4. year	1491	From the 1st to the 6th month excessive rain. In low-lying areas impossible to harvest the grain.
	5. year	1492	In spring excessive rain. In the 5th month great flood – the water of Lake Taihu overflowed its banks, the grain fields inundated. Many people became refugees. Serious epidemics.
	6. year	1493	5th to 6th month insects.
	7. year	1494	Great flood.
	9. year	1496	Good harvest.
	11. year	1498	In the 6th month the water of Lake Taihu overflowed its banks. Flood in the 8th month.
	12. year	1499	Flood.
	13. year	1500	In the 6th month the water of Lake Taihu overflowed its banks.
	16. year	1503	In the 2nd month part of the Hefeng Granary burnt down, in the 3rd month another part of the same granary in flames. Great drought in the 5th and 6th month. The grain rotted on the stalk. The price of 1 peck of rice was 3/10 ounce of silver. Serious famine. In the 8th month yet another part of the Hefeng Granary burnt down. In the 12th month there was deep snow. All the orange trees on Mts. Dongting froze – nothing remained.
Zhengde	3. year	1508	Great drought. The roads filled with people starving to death.
	4. year	1509	Great drought in summer.
	5. year	1510	Excessive rain in spring. In the 6th month flood. Many drowned. In autumn serious epidemics.
	6. year	1511	Great flood in summer. Serious epidemics.
	8. year	1513	Great flood in summer. Famine.
	10. year	1515	Great flood.[110])

This list shows that the years preceeding 1516 had been extremely hard. The year 1510 in particular seems to have been filled with catastrophes. (This was a period when popular uprisings spread rapidly in other parts of the empire.) The middle Ming edition of the local gazetteer for nearby Wujiang (Suzhou prefecture) says the following:

Zhengde, 5th year: Great flood. Only a few inches of the long bridges were visible above the water level. It was the greatest catastrophe of the century. In this year there were frequent epidemics. Half of those [infected] died. Besides, the immoral Liu Jin dictated the policy of the nation. The exploitation of the people was far too heavy. Magistrates of prefectures and counties struggled to fulfill his orders, and those unsuited to office managed to establish themselves. Never before had the people of Wu been poorer.[111])

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The situation of the outcasts was bleak in Ming society. Beggars *(gaihu)* were excluded from state examinations, intermarriage between this group and other social strata was forbidden, and the law discriminated against them. There was in reality almost no chance of upward social mobility. According to T'ung-tsu Ch'ü, this group formed a kind of pariah caste.[112]) These outcasts suffered the contempt of society, and could expect little mercy. (Cf. da Cruz' remark: "he that laboreth shall not eat, for commonly there is none that give alms to the poor.") But the Confucian attitude towards this group was somewhat ambivalent: Experience told that warfare and increased exploitation resulted in the number of *gaihu* growing rapidly in periods of corrupt politics. The outcasts might therefore even be considered as the victims of the lack of Confucian virtue among the ruling class. Some Confucians would therefore take compassion on this group. This attitude is mirrored in the colophones by Huang Jishui and Zhang Fengyi: "He who can look at this without feeling pity, is not a man of benevolence *(ren)*!"

The subject matter of the painting naturally made Ming connoisseurs feel somewhat uneasy. In a period when the art of painting included a few, clearly limited genres – none of a controversal nature – the effect of this painting must have been very great. We have in fact no extant painting from any dynasty which can be compared to it. The only precedent we know of is *"Liumin tu"* by Zheng Xia, mentioned by Zhang Fengyi. Zheng Xia was a man living at the time when Wang Anshi (the famous statesman of the Song dynasty) tried to carry out his harsh reform policy. After having tried in vain to advise Wang Anshi to change his policy, Zheng Xia painted a realistic and detailed picture of the suffering of people who had lost their homes and property because of the reform policy. He sent the painting direct to to the Emperor Shenzong. The emperor was deeply moved, and the very next morning ordered the policies of Wang Anshi to be rescinded. The painting by Zheng Xia was called "*Liumin tu*", i. e. "Painting of the Homeless People". It seems to have disappeared in the Song archives, but the event is recorded in Zheng Xia's biography in the official Song dynasty history.[113]) The famous event might have served as an inspiration to Zhou Chen, though he never saw the painting himself.

An early work which offers certain parallels in motif to "Beggars and Street Characters" is the handscroll "Street Scenes in Peace Time" by Zhu Yu of the Yuan dynasty. Here too we find a vivid street scene depicted against a blank surface, and – amidst the folk masses – we find beggars and street performers. Zhou Chen might have been influenced by this kind of folk life depiction. But the mood of the Zhu Yu painting and that of "Beggars and Street Characters" are quite different. In Zhu Yu's painting we find an anecdotal quality which is quite absent in Zhou Chen's work. Zhu Yu has depicted a broad section of the city population with great pleasure in the narrative detail, but without any social criticism – the few beggars intermingle with a well-dressed and well-nourished populace in the many activities of the streets and markets. A comparison

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between the depictions of a monkey play in the two paintings is revealing: In Zhu Yu's work we find a neatly dressed monkey trainer with a young attendant, surrounded by interested spectactors. In Zhou Chen's work we see the monkey trainer alone with his animal – he is dressed in rags, and his face is marked by poverty.

Zhou Chen's penetrating depictions of the poor might have been influenced by earlier Buddhist paintings, where beggars appear as a subordinate motif in the depictions of lohans giving alms to the poor.[114])

"Beggars and Street Characters" is, however, a highly original and personal work of art, standing out from the conformity of professional figure painting.

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CATALOGUE

A) Seals (See pl. 61)

(1) **Dongcun** (square, intaglio, 1.85×1.9 cm): "The Red Cliff" (Recorded Contag, p. 186).
(2) **Dongcun** (rect., relief, 3.15×2 cm): "Leisurely Watching Children Playing with Willow-flowers". – "Riverside Leisure".
(3) **Dongcun** (rect., relief, 2.9×1.6 cm): "Beggars and Street Characters" (Cleveland).
(4) **Echang sanren** (rect., relief, 3.4×2.4 cm): "Riverside Leisure" (identical with the seal of "Farewell at a Brushwood Gate", recorded Contag, p. 186?).
(3.3×2.4 cm): "Beggars and Street Characters" (Cleveland).
(5) **Shunqing** (square, relief, 2.3×2.3 cm): "Beggars and Street Characters (Cleveland). – Copy of Zhao Gan. – "Visiting a Mountain Dweller". – "Farewell at the Brushwood Gate". – "Riverside Leisure". – "Leisurely Watching Children...". – "Playing Chess by a Window shaded by Pines".
(6) **Shunqing** (rect., intaglio, 1.5×1.1 cm): "The Wuyi Mts.".
(7) **Shunqing** (rect., intaglio, 2.1×1.6 cm): "Ningqi Feeding his Ox".
(8) **Yushan yaren** (square, intaglio, 2.2×2.15): "Ningqi Feeding his Ox".
(9) **Zhou Chen** (square, intaglio, 2×2 cm): "The Red Cliff" (Recorded Contag, p. 186).
(10) **Zhou shi Shunqing** (square, intaglio, 1.3×1.3 cm): "Listening to the Cascades of Water in a Pine Valley".
(11) **Zhou shi Shunqing** (square, intaglio, 1.15×1.2 cm): "Yiwan tu". – "The Cockfight". – "The Northern Sea". – "The Clear Lake". – "Listening to the Song in the Pines and the Cascades of Water". – "Water Pavilions and Paths amidst Pine Valleys". – "Scholar with a Goosefeather Fan". – "Ferry on the River". – ("Returning Home by Boat in Wind and Rain"?). – ("Leisurely Talk in a Pine-shaded Pavilion"?).

B) Handscrolls

LANDSCAPES IN THE LI TANG MODE

"Visiting a Friend among Mountain Streams and Pines"
Coll.: Yagioka coll., Japan.
Signature: Not visible on reprod.
Reprod.: *Toso*, p. 274.
Comments: I know this painting from a reproduction of poor quality.

"The Northern Sea" *(Beiming tu)* (Pl. 6–9)
Coll.: Nelson Gallery, Kansas. Acq. no: 58.550.
Descr.: Ink and light colours on silk. – 28.4×136.6 cm.
Title (lower, left corner): Beiming tu.
Signature (lower, left corner): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: (11).

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Condition: Probably remounted. Present mounting: Japanese style. During the remounting left edge of the painting probably cut away – title and signature inserted.
History: According to Suzuki mentioned in early Japanese sources.[115]) 2 seals belonging to Tetsujo Kuwana (early 20th cent.). 1 seal unid.
Comments: The title of the painting is *Beimingtu* ("Painting of the Northern Sea"). The character 溟 is used synonymously with the character 冥 with the same pronounciation, whose most common meaning is "dark, vast, boundless, profound". The "Beiming" is mentioned in the very famous opening passage of the first chapter of Zhuangzi: "In the Northern Sea there is a fish, whose name is Kun. Kun is so big that nobody knows how many *li* it measures. It changes into a bird, whose name is Peng. Nobody knows how many *li* the back of Peng measures. When it becomes agitated and flies, its wings are like clouds suspended from heaven."[116]) Lu Deming of the Tang dynasty comments:

> Beiming . . . is the Northern Sea [the Sea of the extreme North, not the name of any specific ocean]. Ji Kang[117]) says: "The expression *ming* is used for the Northern Sea because it is boundless and without shores." Emperor Jianwen of the Liang dynasty says: It is deep and without limits, and therefore it is called *ming*." *Shizhou ji* by Dongfang Shuo says: "The dark colour of the water is called *ming*. Even when no winds blow on the ocean, the waves rise thousands of feet."[118])

The Beiming in *Zhuangzi* is, thus, not at all the name of a specific ocean known to geographers, but stands for an abstract concept of a boundless ocean in the extreme North. When we look at Zhou Chen's painting, it looks more like a scene near Lake Taihu than the dark ocean of *Zhuangzi*. Laurence Sickman has indicated that Beiming could be the studio name of the man for whom the picture was painted.[119]) The painting would then include two different aspects – the left-hand part being a depiction of a scholar's studio (i.e. functioning as a garden painting), the right-hand part a depiction of the metaphysical Northern Sea. Here, however, it should be noted that the characters "Beiming tu" are written in a style different from that of the signature and may be a later interpolation. The powerful depiction of a stormy ocean may have caused posterity to name the painting in this way.

Zhou Chen had many predecessors in the genre of water painting – water was a motif which early interested the Chinese. Even during Tang there were specialists in the genre of turbulent water.[120]) There have been preserved works of high quality in this genre from Southern Song, a flourishing period of "water paintings". During this period the capital was situated in Hangzhou, famous for its tidal bore. This phenomenon became a motif in painting, and a round fan, signed with the name of Li Song, illustrating this event has been preserved. (The fan is now in the collections of the NPM, Taipei.) The motif – people gathering to watch the sea – reminds one of *Beiming tu*. Another popular motif during Southern Song which offered the artist an opportunity of experimenting with the

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lines of water was the illustrations to Su Shi's "Odes to the Red Cliff" *(Chibi fu)*. Contag records a Zhou Chen painting with this motif.

One of the most beautiful illustrations of the water theme from Southern Song is a set of album leaves by Ma Yuan, now in the Palace Museum, Peking, mounted as handscroll. This album was much admired during middle Ming, and many important personalities of the period added colophones, for example the famous statesman Li Dongyang (1447–1516). Shen Zhou's friends Wu Kuan and Wang Ao (1450–1524) wrote colophones on it in 1488. Later, younger members of the Wen-family wrote comments on it: Wen Boren in 1568, Wen Jia in 1577. Also Zhang Fengyi and Wang Shizhen added colophones. The album was thus well-known during middle Ming. Regarding its whereabouts, it must have been in the Jiangnan-area at least as early as in 1488, when Wu Kuan wrote his colophone in the 10th lunar month, as he was certainly in Suzhou at this time.[121])

The motif of turbulent water reached its highest development with the professional painters of Southern Song. As shown by Maeda, this motif became more decorative during the Yuan-dynasty. The genre lost much of its attraction for leading artists when the literati ideal became prevalent during Yuan, though it was still practiced by artisan painters. The genre was never really revived.

The painters of the Zhe-school, however, would often incorporate splashing mountain streams and stormy seashores in their landscapes, where the form of the crest reminds one of the Zhou Chen painting. A close parallel to "Northern Sea" with its crest-topped waves below a heavy sky is found in the hanging scroll "Four Immortals Honouring the God of Longevity", NPM, Taipei, by the early Ming Academy painter Shang Xi.[122])

Another interesting relationship is that between "Northern Sea" and decorated screens. During Song and Yuan, the motif of the sun and the moon rising above waves was extremely popular. Both painted and embroidered versions from the Song dynasty have been preserved. These paintings and embroideries were often mounted on screens. A related motif, which has not yet been properly studied, is a carp jumping above the crests of a waterfall. This motif symbolizes success in state examinations.[123]) In the figure-paintings of middle Ming, we often find screens decorated with wave motifs. Some of these show a striking resemblance to "Northern Sea". In the screens depicted in Du Jin's "Enjoying Antiquities" and Tang Yin's "Figures in Tang Style", (both NPM, Taipei), the manner of rendering sea and sky strongly resembles that of "Northern Sea". As the three painters are more or less contemporary, it is difficult to tell exactly who influenced who.

In later wood-engravings, screens decorated with a turbulent ocean became stock-in-trade. This was probably not least thanks to the deep influence exerted by the Yuanti-masters and Du Jin on the art of woodblock illustration.

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"The Retreat of Chunquan"
Coll.: Palace Museum, Peking.
Descr.: Ink and colours on paper. – 26.3×85.8 cm.
Signature (lower, left corner): Dongcun Zhou sketched this for the gentleman Chunquan of the Pei family.
Seal: Zhou Chen zhi yin.
Inscription: Poem by the Qianlong emperor of the Qing dynasty.
Coll. seals: From the Qing imperial collection.
Earlier colophones (on separate paper). Recorded in *Shiqu baoji,* now lost:

1) Poem signed: Gao Di [with the *hao*] Chanting.[124])

2) Poem signed: Gu Kexue [with the *hao*] Sizui shanren offers his respects.[125])

History: Recorded in *Siqu baoji xubian,* vol.1, p. 408.
Reprod: XU Bangda, *Chunquan xiaoyin tu.*

Comments: The painting shows a small retreat with thatched roofs and a mud fence in a riverside landscape. A scholar sits at the table, resting his head in his arms. Outside a boy is sweeping the yard. This must be a depiction of the life at the retreat of Pei Chunquan, for whom the painting was done.

We have a conspicuous lack of relationship between the motif and the former colophones. The fact that Zhou Chen is not mentioned in the colophones is nothing peculiar; somewhat more surprising is that neither is the owner of the retreat mentioned. Strangest of all is, however, that the poem by Gao Di seems to describe quite different scenery and persons than this scholar in his retreat. I strongly suspect that the colophones were added later, and had originally nothing to do with this scroll. This is probably the reason why they were later removed.

Zhou Chen's signature is very different from the signatures on all his other works – the strokes being heavier and more angular. The manner of writing the characters of his name is also totaly different.

When compared to Zhou's other paintings, the brushwork is most like that of the folding fan "Lucid Talk amidst the Shadows", but lacks the vivacity of the latter. The careful character of the brushwork does not exclude the hand of a copyist.

"Dreaming of Immortality in a Thatched Cottage"
Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art, Wash.
Descr.: Ink and colours on paper.
Inscription (upper, left corner): Poem signed: Tang Yin from Jinchang made this for Mr. Dongyuan.
Seal: Tang Bohu (square, relief).
Title: Signed by Wang Shengxiu (unid.).

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Colophones: 1. Unsigned, undated, no seals.
2. Gu Yingxiang (1483–1565). Undated.
3. Xu Bing (unid.). Undated.
4. Xu Xiangqing (1479–1557). Dated 1536.
5. The Priest Zishan (unid.). Undated.
6. Wang Weiyi (unid.). Dated 1535.
7. Weng Gui Chaofen (unid.). Dated 1559.
8. Pang Yuanji.

(After the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 6th and 7th colophones: Joints in the paper.)
Publ.: PANG Yuanji, *Xuzhai minghua lu,* ch. 4 (Vol. 1, p. 402–431). – J. CAHILL, *Chinese Painting,* p. 138–139. – JIANG Zhaoshen, "Tang Yin de yanjiu", 4, p. 60–61. – J. CAHILL, "T'ang Yin or Chou Ch'en" p. 23–25. – JIANG Zhaoshen, "Additional Comments on a Work by T'ang Yin", p. 27–29.
Reprod.: J. CAHILL, *Chinese Painting,* p. 138–139.
Comments: This is one of the most intriguing paintings connected with Zhou Chen's name. It was for centuries attributed to Tang Yin. It was copied by Gu Jianlong as a work by Tang Yin as early as 1637.[126]) Pang Yuanji accepted it as a work by Tang Yin in late Qing. In 1960, however, Cahill attributed the painting to Zhou Chen.[127]) In his series of articles on Tang Yin, Jiang Zhaoshen reattributed the painting to Tang Yin. In a comment, Cahill reaffirmed his attribution to Zhou Chen, pointing out the spurious calligraphy in Tang's inscription. He maintained that the colophones had been tampered with, the first colophone now lacking both signature and seals. Cahill proposed that the end of this colophone had been excised by the forgerers because it mentioned the real artist's name. The only colophone mentioning Tang Yin's name – the one by the priest Zishan – is squeezed in between two other colophones in a very unnatural way. By comparing the scroll with a fan by Zhou Chen, he defended his attribution to Zhou Chen. In his answer, Jiang concurred that the Zishan colophone is spurious and judged it as a later interpolation, pointing out that, in contrast to the other colophones, it centers the interest on Tang Yin and not on the dream of immortality. He added that the style of the calligraphy suggests a date later than middle Ming, that the text seems almost nonsensical, and that the Zishan inscription is placed after a colophone dated 1536 and before one dated 1535. Jiang maintained that this indicates that the original sequence of the colophones had been changed and the colophone of Zishan added. He agreed that the end of the first colophone must have been removed, but considered it unlikely that the colophone had included a comment on the painting (as none of the other genuine colophones mentions the painting). Instead, he explained it as a result of this colophone originally having extended over two sections of paper, one of which had been lost during remounting. In this connection he mentioned that colophones by Tang Yian and Qian Hongde have also been lost (these two colophones are mentioned in the inscription by Weng Shaofen.)

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I consider the most important argument for an eventual attribution to Zhou Chen to be the brushwork. But the brushwork in "Dreaming of Immortality" is very different from Zhou's usual manner. The lines are flatter and more square – the strokes are slower and more carefully drawn. Zhou Chen used many types of texture strokes, but the kind of "nail-head" (*dingtou)* strokes used in the cliff to the left of the path is not found in any work by Zhou. This type of brushwork is more mannered than we should expect. Cahill claims a similarity between the figure in the "Dreaming of Immortality" and the Zhou Chen fan "Listening to the Song of the Pines", but I do not find this alleged similarity convincing. There is a superficial likeness between the two scholars standing with the wind blowing their garments, but there is a fundamental difference in the manner of painting them. While the scholar in the fan-painting is tall and slender (as Zhou's figures tend to be), the scholar in "Dreaming of Immortality" is short and rather stout. In the technically difficult medium of fan painting, the figure is rendered in a natural position, while the man in the handscroll seems flat and quite awkward. The face of the man in "Dreaming of Immortality" reminds me of a type found in many Shen Zhou paintings and also in copies of Shen Zhou, but seems quite out of place in the context of Zhou Chen. Cahill especially stresses the similarity between the pines in the two paintings, but, although the manner of painting pine needles and creepers is quite similar, there is a considerable difference between the mighty sweep in the stems in the Zhou fan and the stiff and square lines of those in "Dreaming of Immortality".

I feel for the moment reluctant to accept this as a work by Zhou Chen. Likewise, I hesitate to attribute it to Tang Yin. None of the Tang Yin paintings recently shown at the Wu-school exhibition, NPM, Taipei, can easily be connected with this painting, nor can any other of his well-known works. The calligraphy also seems spurious. Regarding the colophones, there are further pecularities to be noted: In his inscription, Weng Chaofeng discusses the other colophones. First, he mentions one colophone citing Ge Changgeng, then one discussing Zhu Xi's commentary to Qu Yuan. He then "continued and read the excellent compositions by the two officials in the Ministry of Justice Tang Yian and Qian Dehong". Examining the colophones in their present form, a reference to Zhu Xi is found in Xu Xiangqing's colophone, but I cannot find that any colophone quotes Ge Changgeng. It is possible that the quotation was made originally in the inscription by Wang Weiyi – the first part of his text has obviously been excised. (Wang Weiyi's inscription dated 1535 was of course originally mounted in front of Xu Xiangqing's inscription from 1536.) The section containing the colophones by Tang Yian and Qian Dehong is now lost. Qian Dehong (1496–1574) was a famous pupil of Wang Shouren. It is therefore possible that this section was removed to be sold separately as a piece of calligraphy. Writings from the hand of a venerated Confucian philosopher had a somewhat different market from that of ordinary painting and calligraphy.

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OTHER LANDSCAPES

"Yiwan tu" (Pl. 30–31)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Ink and light colours on silk. – 107×27 cm.
Inscription (right edge): "*Yiwan tu.* Dongcun Zhou Chen".
Seal: (11).
Condition: Worm-eaten at lower edge.

"Massed Mountains and Small Homesteads along a Broad River"
Coll.: Wango H.C. Weng, N.Y.
Reprod.: SIRÉN, *C.P.*, 6, pl. 235.
Comments: The brushwork bears little resemblance to that of Zhou Chen, and the signature and seal do not seem convincing.

"View of the Jinshan Rock on the Yangzi River"
Coll: Unknown (Formerly in the Fengyu lou coll.)
Reprod.: *Shenzhou daguan,* no 9.
Comments: The style and brushwork are different from Zhou Chen's. The calligraphy is not from Zhou's hand.

"Fishing Village"
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Comments: This painting, which lacks both signature and seal of the artist, is clearly of inferior quality and has nothing in common with Zhou Chen's style.

FIGURE PAINTINGS

"Beggars and Street Characters" (Pl. 33–44)
Coll.: One handscroll in the Honolulu Academy of Arts (Acq.no. 2239.1:1956), called "Derilect Characters".
One handscroll in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Acq.no 64.94), called "Beggars and Street Characters". (This scroll includes the signature and colophones).
Description: Originally 12 album leaves (excluding the colophones). Remounted into two handscrolls when in W. Hochstadter's collection. – Ink and colours on paper.[128])
Date: A.D. 1516.
Inscription by **Zhou Chen** (mounted with the Cleveland scroll, originally written on a separate album leaf):
In the autumn of the *bingzi* year of Zhengde [1516] in the seventh month, I was idling under the window, and suddenly there came to my mind all the

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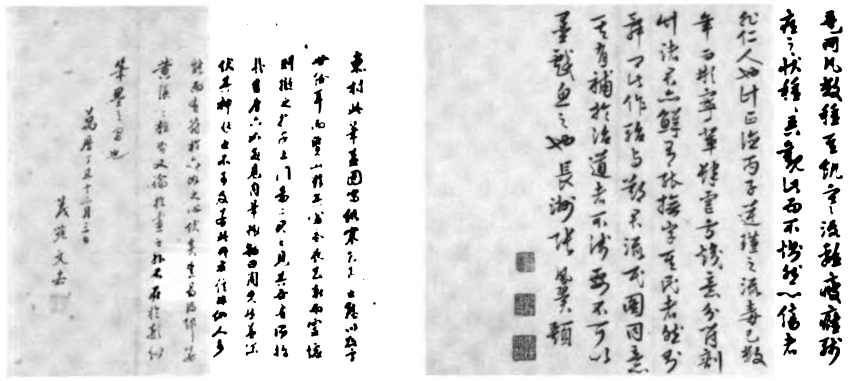

"Beggars and Street Characters" — Colophones

appearances and manners of the beggars and street characters whom I often saw in the streets and markets. With brush and ink ready at hand, I put them into pictures in an impromptu way. It may not be worthy of serious enjoyment, but it certainly can be considered as a warning and admonition to the world. (Transl. after Wai-kam Ho).[129]) Dongcun Zhou Chen.

Seals of Zhou Chen (after his inscription): (3), (5), (4).
Colophone by **Huang Jishui** (originally on separate paper), dated 1564:
Zhou Chen from Wu was skilled in painting, especially in figure painting. This work depicts the manners of the beggars and street characters he has seen. He has exhaustively rendered the characteristics of each type. Looking at it, one feels sick with pain. Alas! Could only those who nowadays go out in the dusk begging mercy from the rich wake Zhou up [from the dead] so that he could depict them! Mr. Zheng [with the *hao*] Woyun [identical with Zheng Guobin?][130]) showed me this painting, and I casually wrote a colophone.

The tenth month of the *Jiazi* year [i.e. 1564]. Huang Jishui from Wumen [i.e. Suzhou].[131])

Seals (after the colophone): Huang Zi... (last character unreadable) (square, intaglio); Shiya shanren (tall rect., relief).

Colophone by **Zhang Fengyi** (orig. on separate paper):
On these album leaves, the appearances and manners of the hungry and cold, the homeless, the tired and weak, and the cripples are exhaustively depicted. He who can look at this without pity, lacks all human feelings. I calculated and found out that in the *bingzi* year of the Zhengde era, the evil influence from [Liu] Jin had already lasted for years, while the extreme cruelty of [Jiang] Bin, [Qian] Ning and their gang was just at its height.[132]) I suspect that few of the gentlemen given tallies as tokens of their office could treat their subjects decently. Thus, Shunqing had

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"Beggars and Street Characters" — Colophones

more or less the same intentions with this painting as Zheng [Xia] had with his "Painting of the Homeless People". [133]) This album complements politics to no small degree. It should not at all be held in disregard as a mere inkplay. Inscribed by Zhang Fengyi from Changzhou (Suzhou).

Seals (after the colophone): Zhang Fengyi yin (square, relief); Wuwangzhai yin (square, intaglio); Zhang shi Boqi (square, intaglio).

Colophone by **Wen Jia** (orig. on separate paper), dated 1577:
When Dongcun did these paintings, he simply depicted the hungry and the cold, the beggars and the street characters in order to admonish the world. Zhishan [Huang Jishui?] wants depictions of those begging for mercy in the dusk, while Lingxu [Zhang Fengyi?][134]) equals it with the painting by the Guard of the Anshang Gate [i.e. Zheng Xia].[135]) Indeed, each of these gentlemen has his point! Earlier, each time Tang Yin saw a painting by Zhou Chen, he said in praise "Master Zhou!" and thus he deeply yielded to the unattainable wonders of Zhou Chen's art. Regarding this set of painting, I believe no one else could have done it. It merits the deep admiration of Tang Yin. Is this not something rarely attained? As to the viewpoints of Huang and Zhang, they discuss subjects outside the painting, and not matters concerned with form and brushwork.

The third day of the twelfth month of the *dingchou* year of the Wanli era [1577]. Wen Jia of Maoyuan.

Seal (after the colophone): Wen Jia Xiucheng.
Collectors's and appreciator's seals (recorded after photographs, the list probably incomplete):

Honolulu-scroll: Lower, right corner: Xinmin yanfu (square, intaglio); Fujiao Ge Bing'an cang (tall rect., relief). Upper, left corner: Xiaoxiao dongguan zhencang

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(square, relief). Lower, left corner: Renzheng zhencang (tall rect., part relief, part intaglio); Gengxia xiguan (oval, relief); Zhou shi Lian fu suo cang (square, relief).[136]) Brocade mounting: Keting miji (square, relief).

Cleveland scroll: Chen Xinmin sanshi yihou suo jian (square, relief). This Chen Xinmin, who also must have been the owner of the seal "Xinmin yanfu", is for the present unidentified. 3 more unidentified seals.

"Zhong Kui Expelling Demons" (Pl. 49)
Coll: Unknown.
Descr.: Ink om paper. – 27.9×77.9 cm.
Signature: Dongcun.
Seal: Zhou shi?
Colophone: Nanshan [i.e. Zhong Kui] is lofty and awe-inspiring,[137])
Brilliant and with supernatural powers.
His orders and commandments
Can never be prophecied
When his younger sister was to marry and the way parted them,
His following accompanied her and then went into the netherworld. [138])
With his secret tally he left the pass at night,
And lightening and thunder would never stop.
When he passed the mountains, the mountains split.
When he crossed the ocean, the ocean soared.
His shouts made the earth and heaven shake,
And it became dark at the heigt of day.
The God of Heaven takes compassion on the living beings,
And repeatedly orders the demons to be hunted.
Yuhuan [i.e. Yang Guifei] bathed in the deep water,
Her fox-demon appearance exciting the onlookers.[139])
So he took his flaming tally,
And the yellow fog filled the eight corners of the world.
A gusty wind whined in the canyons,
And the mountain goblins bid away.
Swordlike trees flocked together in lance forests,
And boulders clung to steep mountain walls.
The combatants screamed mournfully,
Sorrowfully the human souls were mourned.
The ravens and kites approached the rotten meat,
While intestines were spread all around.
Strange forms followed after weird phenomena,
And transformations took a thousand forms.

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Inspecting this painting with its depiction of the supernatural,
I bow in deepfelt admiration
And recall how Master Zhou
Harmonizes his colours and masters the pure and white
His wide mind embraces the vastness of the universe
His painting gains power from a deep understanding of the netherworld.
In this painting of Zhong Kui he has depicted
The peace of earth and heaven when evil demons are expelled.
Tang Yin from Wu wrote this.
Seals: Tang Bohu (Cf. Contag, p. 227, no. 20); Mengmo ting (Cf. ibid, no. 18); Nanjing jieyuan (Cf. ibid, no. 15).
Collectors' seals: The painting is impressed with seals of the Qing imperial collection of the Qianlong period. The painting must later have been given to Yong Xing (1752–1823), a son of the Qianlong emperor, as it is impressed with his seal "Yijinzhai".

The painting by Zhou Chen is also impressed by the seal "Zai Zhi zhi yin" (unidentified) and 3 unreadable seals.

The inscription by Tang Yin is impressed with the seal "Du Jian zhi zhang" (unidentified) and one seal which is unreadable on the reproduction.
Comments: I know this painting from a reproduction of rather poor quality, and it has been difficult to judge its authenticity. Judging by the reproduction, the brushwork seems to be of the same light and careful quality as that of the "Wading the River in Autumn Mist".

The painting shows Zhong Kui and his sister on an outing. The portrait of Zhong Kui is unusual in that he is depicted as wearing a soft hat instead of the official's cap which he otherwise wears. Riding on a buffalo, he looks more like Laozi than a demon-queller.

"The Virtuous Wife née Yu Blinding herself"
Coll.: Suzhou Museum.
Description: Short handscroll. – Ink and light colours on paper.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
No seals of the artist.
Colophone: Wang Ao's biography of the virtuous wife née Yu, quoted from the local gazetteer.
Collector's seal: Xia shi jiacang.
Recorded: GU Wenbin, *Guoyun shuhua ji, Hua,* ch. 3, p. 7b (p. 234). Gu also records inscriptions by Chen Yuquan (unidentified) and Wang Guxiang (1501–68) and a partly damaged inscription by Wen Zhengming.
Comments: I had the opportunity of seeing this painting for a short time only

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under poor light conditions. At that time, the painting did not seem convincing to me as a work by Zhou Chen – the brushwork seemed more careful than usual, the light, effeminate colour scheme seemed different from what we otherwise have found in Zhou's oeuvre.

The short handscroll shows an old and a young lady and a little child in a a summarily indicated garden landscape. The old lady is sitting, holding out a branch of cassia to the little child, as if to induce it to come over to her. Behind her is a table with antiquities, indicating that the garden belongs to a family of learning. The colophone tells the story of the virtuous wife née Yu from Suzhou who blinded herself in one eye to prove that she intended to stay unmarried after her husband's premature death. Only her mother-in-law could refrain her from putting out the other eye by reminding her of her obligations towards her parents-in-law and her children. As the incident took place in a respected Suzhou-family, which was related to Wen Zhengming, it evoked much admiration among contemporaries in the city, and several essays in honour of the virtuous wife were written by Suzhou literati. There is a sharp contrast between the cruel details of the blinding and the light colours and the soft brushwork of the picture. If it were not for the colophone, the painting might never have been associated with the story of the wife *née* Yu.

FLOWER PAINTINGS

"Grapes"
Coll.: Fengyu lou.
Reprod.: *Shenzhou daguan*, no. 9.
Comments: This unsigned painting is the only work attributed to Zhou Chen in the flower painting genre. Judging by the reproduction, there is no evidence which really supports the inclusion of this work in Zhou's oeuvre.

C) Hanging scrolls

LANDSCAPES IN THE LI TANG MODE

"The Clear Lake" (Also called "The White Pool" and "The Clear Pool") (Pl. 1).
Coll.: Nelson Gallery, Kansas. Acq.no.: 53–62.
Descr.: Handscroll mounted as hanging scroll. – Ink and colours on silk. – 33.3×63.4 cm.
Inscription (lower, left corner): Painting of the Clear Lake. Dongcun Zhou Chen.

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Seal of the artist: Zhou shi Shunqing (impossible to read on photograph).
Comments: The motif may be interpreted as a scene of tea-brewing or as one of decocting medicine. As the utensils commonly associated with teabrewing are lacking, the latter interpretation is the more likely, all the more so as the painting offers some striking parallels to the handscroll "Decocting Medicine" by Tang Yin in the NPM, Taipei.[140]) The Tang Yin painting shows a scholar sitting on a piece of fur on the bank of a mountain stream. At his side a boy is fanning a fire while decocting medicine. Tang's inscription says that the painting was a gift for a herb-doctor, who had given him medicine during an illness. Mounted with Tang's painting is a piece of calligraphy, written by his friend Zhu Yunming for the doctor Lu Junyue. It was common in Ming China for the artists to express their gratitude to physicians by presenting them with paintings – probably it was also a way of paying the bill. Often the motif of the painting was associated with the profession of the receiver.

Two paintings by Zhou Chen done in return for medical help are recorded by Gu Fu. These paintings must have been of a much more anecdotal character, similar to paintings such as "The Cockfight" and "Peach Blossom Valley", if we can rely on Gu Fu's description:

Hanging scrolls made for Liu Mengju. One scroll depicts winding mountain ranges and blossoming trees. The other depicts peach blossoms like a piece of brocade and distant mountains like the eyebrows of a beautiful woman. Everything is like the best of Li Tang's works. But, inside the house medical utensils are displayed, and we see people bringing geese in exchange for medicine, while others lead each other forwards to see the doctor – a contrast of the most vulgar kind. (See appendix.)

This kind of paintings was part of the system where one favour deserved another – a common system in Ming China.

Kwan S. Wong has recently suggested that the title of the painting may refer to a man's studio name or *hao.*[141])

"Enjoying a Secluded Life in a Mountain Dwelling" (Pl. 2)
Coll.: Unknown.
Signature: Impossible to see from the signature whether the painting is signed or not.
Comments: I have seen this painting in a reproduction of very poor quality which offered no possibility of distinguishing the details of brushwork.

"A Gathering of Philosophers"
Coll.: University Museum, Philadelphia. Acq.no.: C 122.
Descr.: 161.3 × 84.46 cm. – Ink and light colours on silk.
No signature or seals.
Comments: This hanging scroll shows a pavilion among steep mountains. A scholar is in the act of crossing a bridge leading to a pavilion, but has stopped for a

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moment to listen to the wind in the pines. This is a motif very typical of the Yuanti-masters Tang Yin and Zhou Chen. The brushwork, at the same time both powerful and casually elegant, is also typical of Zhou and Tang.

If we compare the details of the paintings with works by Zhou Chen and Tang Yin, we find too many similarities to be explained as a coincidence: The steep mountains in the background have their parallel in Zhou's "Listening to the Mountain Stream" and Tang's "Exchanging Reminiscences in a Thatched Cottage". The pines are of the same type as those in the "Visiting a Friend" and "Enjoying a Secluded Life" by Zhou and "Whispering Pines on a Mountain Path", NPM, by Tang. The foliage is of exactly the same type as that in "Visiting a Friend". The figure painting is similar to that of "Whispering Pines" and "Enjoying a Secluded Life". Almost identical attendants are found in "Visiting a Friend" and "Exchanging Reminiscences" (Taipei-version). The architecture is similar to that of "Northern Sea". Thus, there should be no doubt that this scroll is the work of one of these masters. But it is difficult from the brushwork alone to tell whether it is by Zhou or Tang.

The composition, however, strongly speaks in favour of Zhou. Tang's works have dynamic and daring compositions, while Zhou's compositions are mostly static and quite conventional. In this painting we find a simple and static structure of the Zhe-school type, where the left hand half of the picture is dominated by verticals, the right by horizontals. This is a common structure in Zhou's oeuvre, while Tang seems to have avoided it. It seems therefore most likely that this is a work by Zhou.

"Visiting a Mountain Dweller" (Pl. 3)
Coll.: Shanghai Museum.
Descr.: Ink and light colours on silk. – 136.0×72.2 cm.
Signature (lower, right corner, on a cliff): Painted by Dongcun Zhou Chen from Gusu.
2 seals by the artist: Upper seal: unreadable. Lower seal: (5).
Collectors' seals: 7 seals in the lower right corner.
Condition: Worn, some purple dots, damaged and repaired in the middle (where a pine branch now lacks any connection with the stem).

"Men in a Pavilion on the Steep Banks of a Mountain Stream" (Pl. 4)
Coll.: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Descr.: Ink and colours on silk. – 195×107 cm.
Signature (lower, left corner): Zhou Chen from Gusu.
Seals: Impossible to distinguish on reproductions.

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"Illustration to the Story of the Fisherman Entering the Peach Blossom Valley" (Pl. 5)
Coll.: Suzhou Museum. (Formerly in the collection of Zhu Junbing in Wuxing).
Descr.: Ink and light colours on silk.
Date: A.D. 1533.
Inscription: Painted by Zhou Chen from Gusu in the 2. month of summer in the *guisi* year of the Jiajing era [i.e. 1533].
Seal: Unreadable.

"Travellers in the Mountains during Spring"
Coll.: Palace Museum, Peking.
Descr.: Large hanging scroll. – Ink and bright colours on silk.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
2 seals by the artist. Upper seal: Type similar to (1). Lower seal: Type similar to (5).
Coll.'s seal (upper, right corner): Xubaishi (unid.).
Recorded: *Traditional and Contemporary Painting in China*, p. 139 (no PE 94).
Comments: This painting with its gay and decorative colouring does not fit very well into Zhou Chen's oeuvre: Its piled-up composition indicates a somewhat later date, and the *gongbi* brushwork is neater and more elaborate than Zhou Chen's.

"Distant View from a Riverside Villa"
Coll.: Tan Tsze Chor, Singapore.
Reprod.: *Exhibition of Mr. Tan Tsze Chor Coll.*, pl. 8.
Comments: I know this painting only from reproductions of very poor quality, and it has been impossible to examine the details of the brushwork.

The motif is a common one in Zhou Chen's oeuvre: A riverside landscape with a pavilion among steep mountains. In the pavilion sits a scholar, enjoying the riverside scenery. A guest is just about to cross the bridge leading to the pavilion. The composition of the painting, the left-hand part dominated by verticals and the right-hand part dominated by horizontals, is well-known in Zhou's works. Thus the painting seems to be composed of familiar elements in a familiar pattern. But, judging by the reproductions, the painting is more dead in its effect than would be expected from a genuine work by Zhou. It bears some likeness to a hanging scroll attributed to the Yuan-painter Wang Zhenpeng, probably executed during a late phase of middle Ming.[142])

"Pines and Cliffs with Cascades of Water"
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Ink and colours on paper. – 97.6×32.5 cm.

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Date: A.D. 1514.
Inscription: Painted by Zhou Chen from Gusu on a spring day in the *jiaxu* year of the Zhengde era [i.e. 1514].
Seal: Zhou Chen zhi yin (rect., intaglio).
Collectors' seals: From the imperial collections of the Qing dynasty.
Recorded: *Shiqu baoji sanbian,* vol. 4, p. 1813.

Comments: This cliff landscape is similar to the landscape depicted in the folding fan "A Thatched Cottage at the River" by Tang Yin, and also to that found in the faked Tang Yin painting "Composing Poems in a Waterside Pavilion", formerly in the collection of the Zou family in Hangzhou.[143]) The *cunfa* is similar to that of Tang Yin, but the brushwork is inferior in quality when compared to that of Tang and Zhou. I consider this painting to be a forgery, probably based on a widely circulated Tang Yin model.

"Making Tea under Pine Trees by a Stream"
Coll.: Michigan Museum of Art. Acg.no.: 1963/2.3 (formerly in the Kawai coll., Kyoto).

Descr.: Ink and colours on silk. – 119.06×62.39 cm.
Sign.: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seals: Dongcun Zhou Chen (square, relief), Dongcun (rect., relief).
Coll.'s seal (lower, left corner): Unid.
Reprod.: *Kokka,* 782.

Comments: This painting depicts scholarly amusements such as brewing tea and reading – popular motifs in Suzhou during the 15th and 16th century. When we examine the structure of this painting, we find that it is much more similar in type to paintings by Wen Zhengming and his followers than to those by Zhou Chen and Tang Yin. The manner of depicting recession in space clearly reminds one of Wen Zhengming's paintings of scholarly amusements in garden settings, characterized by Anne Clapp as follows:

> The basic element of this scheme is a steeply tilted ground plane made unnaturally flat and level like a map. Though in no way illusionistic this has certain advantages in reducing the degree of foreshortening and overlapping, and in indicating clearly where each vertical object rises from the ground. The position and relationship of these objects in the given space is quite plain, and if there is a series of such objects, the ground is tilted further until each becomes distinctly visible.
>
> In Wen's adaption of the formula recession moves upwards and backwards simultaneously, but extends just so far as is necessary to contain the principal features of the garden. Depth is cut abruptly in the middle ground by a masking piece, and the far distance is consigned to a void or at the most to a summary silhouette of mountains.[144])

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This description does not fit Zhou Chen's landscapes, but is an apt description of "Making Tea".

Also typical of Wen Zhengming, but not of Zhou Chen, is the meandering stream. A winding river is found in several paintings by Wen Zhengming, classified by Anne Clapp as belonging to the Li Cheng mode.

There is a peculiar lack of three-dimensionality in the painting, despite texture strokes and *taidian*. The rocks look like paper props placed in the landscape – the result of using ungraded washes, sharply drawn contour lines and the concentration of *taidian* to these lines. This is a development of certain tendencies found in the art of Wen Zhengming and his followers.[145]) The manner of painting pines is also very similar to that of Wen Zhengming. The stylized manner of painting foliage also has parallels in Wen's art.[146]) The figure painting is of high quality, particularly fine is the emaciated melancholic scholar with the book. This scholar is similar to Zhou's figures, but also to those found in Qiu Ying's paintings. The attendant is decidedly more in the tradition of Qiu.[147]) The brushstrokes have no parallel in Zhou's paintings: The painter of "Making Tea" frequently makes a stop in the middle of the line, leaving parts of the line void.

I consider it unlikely that Zhou Chen was inspired by Wen Zhenming to such a degree that he abandoned his usual brushwork, his manner of painting landscapes and figures, and his way of structuring space, and at the same time changed his handwriting (the calligraphy of the signature is different from the rest of Zhou's signatures). As Wen Zhengming was very slow in developing his own style, this presumed metamorphosis of Zhou's style could only have happened in the last years of his life, but it is just from these years some dated paintings by him have been preserved, and none of these shows any trace of such a transformation.

I believe that "Making Tea" is a work done in the Suzhou area during the 16th century by a painter influenced by the style of Wen Zhengming. During this time there were many skilled professionals in Suzhou, doing paintings of high quality, and almost all of them were deeply influenced by Wen and also to a certain extent by Qiu.

"Listening to the *Yueqin* at the Bank of a Mountain Stream"
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Comments: The brushwork is very different from that of Zhou Chen – the strokes are mostly short and heavy, the drawing is very mechanical (cf. the manner of rendering the foliage). The painting reveals strong influences from Qiu Ying and is probably from late Ming or later. The painting lacks signature and seals by the artist, but was attributed to Zhou Chen at least as early as the Qianlong era. (Cf. *Shiqu baoji sanbian,* vol. 7, p. 3098.)

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COUNTRYSIDE SCENERIES WITH WILLOWS

"Riverside Leisure" (Pl. 13)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Ink and light colours on silk. – 181.2×110.5 cm.
Signature (lower, right corner): Zhou Chen from Gusu.
Seals: (2), (4), (6).

"Illustration to the Poetical Phrase 'Leisurely Watching Children Playing with Willow Flowers'" (Pl. 14)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Ink and colours on silk. – 116.6×36.5 cm.
Signature (left edge): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seals: (2), (5).
Recorded: *Shigu baoji sanbian*, Vol. 4, p. 1813.

"Cockfight" (Also called "Illustration to the Book of Odes") (Pl. 15)
Coll.: Art Museum, Princeton. Acq.no. L 31.65. (Previously Motoyama coll., Osaka).
Descr.: Album leaf mounted as hanging scroll. Japanese style mounting. – Ink and colours on paper. – 54.7×38.4 cm.
Signature (left edge): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: Shunqing (square, intaglio).
Inscription (upper right part): Poem by the Qianlong emperor of the Qing-dynasty: "The eastern wall meets with that of the neighboor in west / Here are only families with the surnames Zhu and Chen,[148]) / When meeting all are very friendly / There is no need to summon distinguished guests / Although the grain is cheap, the hens seemingly like it / And the rice wine tastes pure and rich / Compared to other "*Binya*" illustrations / Zhou Chen has no reason to feel ashamed. The emperor wrote this during the last 10 days of the 3rd month of the autumn in the *guisi* year [1773]." (Imperial seals added.)
Collectors' seals: Lower, right corner: Upper seal: Shichuzhai zhuren shoucang shuhua yin (unid.). Lower seal: Unreadable. Lower, left corner: Zhang Qinglin yin (unid.).
Comments: Cockfights are mentioned in many ancient Chinese sources such as *Zhuangzi*, *Zhanguo ce*, *Shiji*, and *Huainan zi*.[149]) The famous statesman Su Qin (d. A.D. 317) mentions cockfights together with lute playing and chess as a form of amusement in a prosperous society.[150]) Cockfighting has enjoyed great popularity throughout Chinese history, and even if the motif is rarely found in pictorial art, the subject is often treated in later literature. From middle Ming we have preserved a poem by Chen Yi (1469–1538) – a poet and painter active in Nanjing.[151])

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In his inscription the Qianlong emperor suggests that the motif is the *Binya* ode (also known as "*The Ode of the 7th Month*"). This ode (in the *Book of Odes*) describes the agricultural seasons.[152]) The ode does not mention anything about cockfights, however, and the reference to this ode is therefore somewhat surprising. Because of the emperor's poem the painting was given its alternative name "An Illustration to the Book of Odes".

"Scholar Walking Below Willows"
Coll.: Formerly C.C. Wang's coll., N.Y.
Signature: Zhou Chen from Gusu.
Comments: The style of this painting is similar to that of Zhou Chen, but the quality is inferior. The composition is unstable: The middle ground is loosely organized, and the intersection of vertical and approximately horizontal lines in the steep mountains creates an ambiguity as to the structure of the mountains. The lines of the plum-tree are very rigid, and the *taidian* is scattered in an almost mechanical fashion. Many details, however, suggests a strong relationship to Zhou Chen's art, for example the way of organizing the bare branches into an arcade, the rippled water, the relationship between the mountain peaks, the manner of painting trees in the distance. These similarities indicate that this work may be a copy of a genuine painting by Zhou Chen.

LANDSCAPES INFLUENCED BY THE ZHE-STYLE

"Listening to the Mountain Stream" (Pl. 20)
Coll.: Boston Museum. Acq.no.: 55.389 Keith McLeod Fund.
Descr.: Ink on paper. – 88.0×30.3 cm.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen painted this for Yungao.
Seal: Shunqing (square, intaglio).
Collectors' seals: Lower, left edge: Xushuzhai zhengchangwu. Lower, left corner: Lu Shusheng jianshang zhang.
History: Earlier Collectors: Lu Xinyuan (1834–94); Lu Shusheng (19th century).
Recorded: LU Xinyuan, *Rangliguan guoyan xulu,* ch. 6, p. 16a–b.

"Playing Chess by a Window below Pines" (Pl. 21)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Ink and colours on silk. – 84.2×132.2 cm.
Date: 1526.
Inscription (lower, left corner): The mid-autumn day in the *bingxu* year of the Jiajing era [i.e. 1526]. Zhou Chen from Gusu did this.
Seal: (5).
Condition: Worm, somewhat wrinkled. Some greyish spots.
Recorded: *Shiqu baoji sanbian,* vol. 4, p. 1811.

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"Calling on a Friend" (Pl. 22)
Coll.: Shandong Provincial Cultural Relics Bureau.
Descr.: Hanging scroll. – Ink and light colours on silk. – 148×102.2 cm.
Date: 1531.
Signature (lower, left corner, difficult to read on reprod.): Jiajing *xinmao*(?) [i.e. 1531] in the middle month of the ... season. Dongcun Zhou Chen from Gusu.
Seal: Impossible to read on the reproduction.
Coll.'s seal (lower, right corner): Impossible to read on reproduction.
Comments: The motif of this painting is in the Australian catalogue *Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties,* p. 54, described as follows: "In a bleak landscape, a group of people are coming to visit a friend who is lying in bed, apparently sick." The painting offers, however, striking parallels to the famous hanging scroll "Winter Landscape with a Man Arriving at a House", formerly in the Hozo Hara coll., by the Nanjing painter Xu Lin. The Xu Lin work is interpreted as the representation of the arrival of Liu Bei's emissary at the abode of Zhuge Liang – a well-known scene from the novel *The Romance of the three Kingdoms.* The motifs of the paintings by Xu Lin and Zhou Chen are almost identical, differing only in details, and most likely both works are illustrations to the same story.

"Poetical Thoughts among Pines and Streams" (Pl. 24)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Ink and light colours on paper. – 115×53 cm.
Inscription: Dongcun Zhou Chen imitated the style of Jing'an [i.e. Dai Jin] on the 15th day of the 2nd month of autumn in the *jiawu* year of the Jiajing era [i.e. 1534].
Seals (faked): Dongcun (square, relief, 1.6×1.6 cm), Shunqing (square, intaglio, 1.75×1.8 cm).
Comments: "Poetical Thoughts" is now in a very damaged condition. Before it came into the imperial collections of the Qing dynasty, it had been remounted in a very deleterious way: The paper of the original painting had been divided into two layers, and both layers had then been remounted, i.e. a so-called *jiebiao.* It is the lower layer of the painting which is preserved in the NPM-painting. The ink and colours therefore now lack depth and lustre, and many of the brush-strokes seem very blurred. To compensate for this, some strokes have been added after the remounting. We thus find ink superimposed on the colours, which is the exact opposite of all practice in Chinese painting. Additions have been made to the creepers on the pine tree, and to some of the branches and pine needles. A few strokes have also been added to the faces of the scholars, and the inscription has been retouched. The seals are of course faked – the imprint of the original seals would have been all too blurred below the surface of the painting. Even when reduced to such a state, Zhou Chen's forceful brushwork can still be appreciated.[153])

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"A Secluded Dwelling in a Snowy Landscape"
Coll.: Okamoto Coll., Tokyo.
Descr.: Ink and light colours on silk. – 133.0×45.3 cm.
Sign.: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Collectors' seal (lower, left corner): Unreadable on reproduction.
Comments: I know this painting from a reproduction of very poor quality.

"Visiting Friends amidst Snowy Mountains"
Coll.: Palace Museum: Peking.
Descr.: Ink and light colours on silk.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seals: (3), (5).
Inscription on the *shitang*: "[A man approaching with] a tall staff west of the wooden bridge / Dense snow falling in the chilly landscape / Near the trees a startling revelation of white plum petals / The frozen forest denying a welcome, the bamboo bowing low / A secluded dwelling similar to the abode of Yuan [An][154]) / Once a boat transgressed tranquility to reach the creek of Chan / Due to a moment's wish for togetherness / The journey home might be in enchanting solitude.[155]) Zhou Tianqiu.
Seals: Liuzhi jushi (square, intaglio), Zhou shi Gongxia (square, intaglio).

"Farewell at the Brushwood Gate" (Pl. 27)
Coll.: Nanjing Museum.
Descr.: Ink and colours on paper. – 120.5×56.8 cm.
Signature (left edge, at the pine trunk): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seals: (5), (4).
Collectors' seal lower left and right corner.
History: Earlier collectors: Wu Daochong; Wu Hufan.

"Ning Qi Feeding his Ox" (Pl. 29)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Ink on paper. – 126.7×68.9 cm.
Signature (left edge): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seals: (8), (9).
Collectors' and appreaciators' seals: Lower, left corner: Chang yi zisun (square, intaglio), Zongjia zhonggui (square, intaglio), Yunjian zishi Geng Jixun yin (square, relief), Shian zhenwan (square, relief), San Han Zhongmin renjia (square, relief).
History: Recorded in GAO Qishi, *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu*, ch. 3.69a. – *Shiqu baoji sanbian*, vol. 4, p. 1812.

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"Qu Yuan Reciting Poems on his Wanderings"
Coll.: Shanghai Museum.
Descr.: Ink and light colours on silk.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou.
Seals: Shunqing (rect., intaglio), Dongcun (square, relief).
Collectors' seals lower, right corner.

"Fishing"
Coll.: Cincinnati Art Museum.
Publ.: Sherman LEE, "Literati and Professionals", p. 10.
Comments: This painting differs in style and quality from Zhou Chen's works. The brushlines display nothing of the elasticity and force, or of the fluid movements of the brushpoint so typical of Zhou – instead the lines are clumsy and stiff. The fisherman's garment has been sketched in light ink before the final lines in dark ink were drawn, something never found in Zhou's oeuvre – his skill allowed a direct drawing in dark ink. In some places the lines in "Fishing" fail to render the perceptual reality of the original form (as in the sleeves of the fisherman's garment). In other places they have lapsed into chaos, as in the reeds. The lines in the water seem lifeless, as do those in the basket.

OTHER LANDSCAPES

"The Wuyi Mountains" (Pl. 32)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei (deposition from Zhongyang bowuguan).
Descr.: Ink on silk. – 98.4×35.9 cm.
Signature: Done by Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: (7).
Inscription (upper, right part): The area of Dongou [in Northern Fujian] has since ancient times been famous for its mountains. The Wuyi Mts. tower above the human world. The overhanging cliffs and inaccessible precipices cannot be passed. One can merely catch a glimpse of the clear Jiuqu-stream winding between the peaks. The dry branches of the *cha*-trees bend down over cloud-filled ravines.[156]) There are spots with *lingzhi* at the jade-green pool where one washes one's feet. The mountains are filled with spirits – covering sun and moon. The veins of the mountains are secretly connected with those of the Tiantai Mts.and the Yandang Mts.[157]) The envoy loves the *dao* and respects the ancients sages. The envoy – upon leaving and when returning home – walks through the autumn mist.[158]) To find joy in his own way by bathing in the Yi River and then go back chanting to board a boat of Eastern Wu was what Dian preferred.[159]) In my dreams I turn my head to see the cloud-capped mountains. When I start to move the brush, it is as if the mist is lingering in my hand. If one takes pleasure in

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Map of the Jiuqu River (after Dong Tiangong, Wuyishan zhi)

teaching the talented men of the Kingdom,[160]) and in mature years travels widely, one day one's fame will reach the North Star. The historian [Sima] Qian investigated obscure and hidden places, and an extraordinary flavour was added to his literary style.[161]) Chengming waited for a very long time.[162]) Not bearing to take leave for love of my host, I look back at the mountains with unfettered feelings. Arriving at a crossroad, I stop to empty my cup of wine. Xu Xuandu from Zhence [i.e. Wujiang in Suzhou prefecture].

Seals: Xu shi Minze (square, intaglio), Fengdian jingshe (square, relief).

Comments: The foreground to the right is dominated by a great temple. This is probably the famous Chongzuo wannian gong (popularly called "Wannian gong") – a temple situated at the foot of the Dawang Peak. This peak is a spire-like mountain, dominating the landscape at the 1st bend of the Jiuqu River. It seems likely that the tall peak directly behind the temple is intended to represent the Dawang Peak. This peak was known for its beautiful trees, especially for its pines and cypresses. It is somewhat surprising to find a temple on this inaccessible peak, but during Song a Taoist temple was actually built here: The Shengzhen temple. It still existed during Yuan,[163]) but probably fell into ruins during Ming, as travellers of the period all fail to mention it. In the *Wuyishan zhi* of the Qianlong era of the Qing dynasty it is explicitly stated that the temple was in ruins.[164]) The

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The Jiuqu River

temple to the right of the Dawang Peak, halfway up in the mountains and partly hidden by a cliff, is perhaps intended to depict the architecture around the Altar of Emperor Wu of the Han-dynasty. In popular superstition it was associated with the mythical ruler Pengzu (whose two sons – Wu and Yi – according to one tradition gave their name to the Wuyi Mts.). The altar has therefore also been called "The Foundation of Pengzu". This altar was situated on the Manting Peak, north of the Dawang Peak. In front of the altar there were two temples: The Changqing temple and the Wanchun temple.

To the left of the Wannian gong we find another temple. On this site the well-known Zhizhi temple was situated. The famous Taoist immortal Ge Changgeng (Bo Yuchan) lived in this temple.

It is difficult to identify the building in the near foreground. The Jiufeng academy was situated nearby, though somewhat more to the southwest. This academy (also known as Yonggui jingshe) was founded by Cai Heng, son of Cai Shen (one of Zhu Xi's pupils). During Ming the buildings were more or less in ruins, but the academy was restored in the 10th year of the Zhengde era (1515).[165] It might also be a representation of the Chang-temple, which was situated near the Jiufeng academy, between the Guanyin Peak and the Doumou Peak.[166]

Around the 2nd bend of the river there are many famous mountains of characteristic form: Mountains resembling erect, fluted pillars – their peaks covered with vegetation while the cliff walls are bare. Even if the peaks of the 2nd bend in the Zhou Chen picture have these traits, their appearance is quite different from those on the actual site. It is difficult, if not impossible, to identify

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the individual peaks here, but it is possible that the column-like peak, on which Zhou Chen has written his signature, should be interpreted as a representation of the famous Yunü Peak.

The buildings in the gap between the mountains on the left riverbank are situated in the area of the imperial tea plantations. Tea from the Wuyi Mts. became famous during Song. In the very beginning of the Yuan dynasty the area began to offer tea as a tribute to the emperor. The imperial tea plantations were founded at the 4th bend of the river. The cultivation of tea for imperial use continued until the 16th year of the Jiajing era (1537).[167])

Behind the tea plantation an overhanging cliff is depicted. It seems almost on the point of toppling into the river. The form resembles that of the Gengyi plateau at the 4th bend.

On the right side of the river we find the famous academy founded by Zhu Xi at the 5th bend. Behind the academy, irregularly shaped cliffs appear. This may represent the Jiesun cliff – also called the Xiaoyin ping.

Along the upper part of the river the landscape is more open, though the peaks are taller. The shapes are less dramatic, and many travellers broke their journey along the river at the 6th bend. A more open terrain is likewise found in the Zhou Chen picture. Here it is difficult to identify individual peaks. The highest peaks are perhaps intended to represent the Sanyang Peaks (the highest peaks in the Jiuqu area). The form resembles the contour of the actual mountain, and the position is more or less correct. But Zhou Chen has given the mountain a still more dominant position than it actually has. He has distorted it somewhat so as to give the mountain range a more dynamic form.

In the light ink washes depicting the distant mountains, Zhou has differentiated between gently curving hills to the left and towering peaks to the right, a difference corresponding to that of the actual terrain: The peaks in the southwest of this area have gently curving contours (as the Ling peak and Mayue cliff), while there are tall and steep mountains in the north.

Thus, the painting reproduces the main traits of the landscape, with its weird mountain formations bordering the river at the lower bends and a more open and peaceful scenery higher up. Though many of the famous scenic spots are not depicted, and others difficult to recognize, it seems obvious that this landscape is not a pure fantasy – the painter must have had quite detailed knowledge of the topography of the area.

We have no literary records mentioning that Zhou Chen ever went to the Wuyi Mts., and the lack of other motifs from this region in his oeuvre, as well as the inconsistencies between painting and reality, make it less likely that he ever went down south.

Even if he had no direct personal experience of travelling through the landscape, Zhou would still have had some means of obtaining knowledge of its topography. As stated above, literature regarding this area was very abundant,

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with poetical descriptions of every detail in the scenery along the river. I doubt, however, whether by using literary sources alone it would have been possible to render so accurately the main topography of the landscape. He might perhaps have had access to maps, as maps of the area must have existed during Ming. But if we compare his painting to the map made by Xu Tingjin during the Qing dynasty, we find a fundamental difference between the composition of the painting and the map where the river forms an S-curve. In fact, Zhou's organization of the landscape elements is different from cartographic representations, for example he lets the Dawang Peak conceal the landscape behind. It is thus obvious that if he used maps, he merely skimmed off supplementary information, but treated the material in his own way.

Zhou Chen may have seen earlier paintings of the area. In the Yuan-dynasty the Taoist painter Fang Congyi (active c. 1340–80) made a hanging scroll called "Rowing on the Wuyi", now in the Palace Museum, Peking. This painting is, however, much coarser than Zhou's. There are records of another painting of the area, done in the beginning of Ming by Xu Dazuo (1333–95), but this was in handscroll format.[168]) Besides, it seems to have included more topographic details than the Zhou Chen version. Zhou Chen might have had access to other, now forgotten, paintings from the area. In his inscription, however, he does not mention that the painting was a copy of another master, and neither is anything said to this effect in the inscription by Xu Xuandu.

There also exists the possibility that Zhou Chen received some of his information from a traveller, who had been to the Wuyi Mts. and commissioned the painting as a souvenir.

"Copy of Zhao Gan's 'Wading the River in Autumn Mist'" (Pl. 16)
Coll.: Ogawa Coll., Kyoto.
Descr.: Ink and light colours on paper. – 99.5 × 35.5 cm.
Condition: Surface worn.
Inscription (lower, right corner): Dongcun Zhou Chen copied "Wading the River in Autumn Mist" by Zhao Gan.
Seals: Dongcun (square, relief), Shunqing (square, relief, identical with (6)?).
Collector's seal (lower, left corner): Unid.

"Banana Tree Garden"
Coll.: Art Museum, Princeton.
Comments: This painting is somewhat more *gongbi* than is usual in Zhou's oeuvre. The use of a ruler when drawing the straight lines gives a very rigid effect, quite different from Zhou's free brushwork. The extensive use of washes instead of texture-strokes also differs from Zhou's manner.

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"Enjoying a Cooling Breeze in a Mountain Pavilion"
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Comments: The lines in this painting seem broad and flat. In many places the lines are drawn with the help of a ruler – a device which gives a lifeless effect. The figure painting is clumsy.

"Pines by a Stream"
Coll.: Unknown.
Reprod.: *Yilin yuekan,* 63 (1935), p. 9.
Comments: This painting is for some reason dated 1472 in *Song Yuan Ming Qing shuhuajia nianbiao* by Guo Weiqu. In fact, neither of the two inscriptions (one signed with Zhou Chen's name, the other with the name of the late Ming connoisseur Mo Shilong) mentions a date. The composition is very loose, the organization of the different elements clumsy, the brushwork heavy. The signature does not seem convincing.

"Landscape"
Coll.: Formerly in Wu Juling's coll. Present coll. unknown.
Reprod.: *Toso,* vol. 2, p. 273.
Comments: The brushwork too coarse and heavy. A later forgery of no interest.

"Yanzi ji – the Swallow Cliff in the Yangzi River"
Coll.: Unknown.
Reprod.: *Shina nanga taisei, vol. 9, pl. 131.*

Comments: This painting has nothing in common with Zhou's style. The brushwork is very loose, as is the composition. The water in this painting seems to be of firmer substance than that of the mountains.

"A Mountain Village on a Summer Day"
Formerly Pang Yuanji's coll.
Recorded: PANG Yuanji, *Xuzhai minghua lu,* ch. 8 (vol. 2, p. 981).
Reprod.: *Mingbi jisheng,* vol. 3.
Comments: This paintings bears an inscription signed with Tang Yin's name. Both painting and calligraphy seem to be forgeries of little interest.

FIGURE PAINTINGS

"Immortal with Toad" (pl. 47)
Coll.: Formerly in the coll of Wang Zhen, Shanghai.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seals of the artist: Unreadable on reprod.

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Inscriptions (upper left and right corner): Unreadable on reproduction.
Inscription on the *shitang*: Of all times – barefooted and with dishevelled hair / A whole life substained merely by air and mist / Laughingly pointing to the foot of the Wuyi Mts / In the depths of the encircling clouds is my home. Self-appraisal by Yuchan. The Taoist disciple Tang Yin respectfully wrote this.
Seals: Upper seal: Unreadable on reprod. Lower seal: Liuru jushi (square, relief).
Inscription of the left part of the *shitang*: Unreadable on reprod.
Comments: Zhou Chen did not identify the inmortal in his inscription. An inscription by Tang Yin on the *shitang* (i.e. on a separate piece of paper) refers to the Taoist immortal Ge Changgeng of the Song dynasty. *Liexian quanzhuan* (collected by Wang Shizhen, revised by Wang Yunpeng during late Ming) says:

Ge Changgeng: Of the Song dynasty. From Qiongzhou. His mother named him Yuchan according to a dream she had. When he was 12 years old, he passed the "Examination for youths", afterwards he went into seclusion in the Wuyi Mts. He took the *hao* Haiqiongzi, and served under Chen Zuixu. After 9 years he had grasped Chen's teachings. He went barefooted and with dishevelled hair and wore the most tattered robes ... Once he wrote about himself: "Of all times – barefooted and with dishevelled hair ..." [Identical with the self-eulogy quoted by Tang Yin on the *shitang*].[169])

This Ge Changgeng is also known as Bo Yuchan, i.e. his *hao* added to his mother's surname.[170]) Pictorial representations of him is quite uncommon. I have found only one other example: A hanging scroll in the NPM, Taipei, by the Zhe-painter Shi Wen. In the latter painting there should be no doubt regarding the motif, as the painter has written: "A picture of Yuchan in the style of Liang Kai". (Liang Kai was one of the most famous *chan*-painters in Southern Song.) The immortal is shown bare-footed and with dishevelled hair, and is thus more in accord with the self-eulogy ("Of all times – bare-footed and with dishevelled hair") than the immortal in the Zhou Chen painting, where he is wearing shoes. In both pictures the immortal is represented as holding a toad. The *hao* of Ge Changgeng – Yuchan ("the moon toad of jade") – must have been the reason why he was associated with a toad.

To judge by reproductions, both the Zhou Chen painting and the inscription by Tang Yin seem to be genuine. As they are written on separate pieces of paper, they did not necessarily belong together from the beginning, but may have been joined together by a later mounter. If this is the case, the immortal may not be Ge Changgeng. An inscription in the upper left part of the painting raises doubt of the original connection between the painting and the Tang Yin inscription, and claims that the painting seems to be a depiction of the immortal Liu Haichan of

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the later Liang dynasty, and not of Ge Changgeng. (The reproduction is unfortunately of such poor quality that it is impossible to read the inscription in its entirety.) There is indeed a striking resemblance between the Zhou Chen painting and representations of Liu Haichan. On the other hand, the lack of iconographic conventions for representing Ge Changgeng makes it possible that the iconographic type of another immortal, whose attribute corresponded to the *hao* of Ge Changgeng, may have been borrowed.

There is also a third possible interpretation of the motif (which also presumes that there was originally no connection between the Zhou painting and the Tang inscription): The fact that the composition faces right indicates that the scroll was the left-hand part of a pair of hanging scrolls. There is an iconographic pattern of two immortals, one of whom is holding a toad, namely that of Li Tieguai and Ge Xuan. Ge Xuan, also known as Xiamo xianren, "The Toad Immortal", lived in the kingdom of Wu during the period of the Three Kingdoms. Representations of Li Tieguai and Ge Xuan are found in a pair of paintings attributed to Yan Hui, in Chion-in, Kyoto, and in a set of four paintings attributed to Liu Jun, in Tokyo National Museum.

"Han Xin Being Saved from Starvation by an Old Woman"
Coll.: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Acq.no.: NMOK 251.
Descr.: Ink and colours on paper. – 97×32.6 cm.
Sign.: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: Dongcun (rect., relief).
Inscriptions: 5 inscriptions from the Daoguang period (1821–50) on the mounting.
Reprod.: O. SIRÉN, *A History of Later Chinese Painting*, vol. 1, pl. 99.
Comments: This is a scene from the life of Han Xin, the famous strategist who helped Liu Bang to found the Han dynasty. When young and poor, Han Xin was often humiliated. Only an old silk-washing woman treated him with respect and gave him food to eat.

The landscape setting is minimal, some leaves and stones and a tall willow-tree. The tree is cut by the frame both at the top and at the right-hand edge, so that the scene seems very close to the viewer. This is a structure often found in Zhe art, and is also found in "Farewell at the Brushwood Gate". The texture strokes are strongly reminiscent of the brushwork found in "Pines and Cliffs with Cascades of Water". This type of texture stroke is often found in works connected with Tang Yin's name – not at least in the forgeries. The brushwork in the Han Xin painting is flat and somewhat clumsy – it is clearly not from Zhou Chen's hand. The seal is of the same type as (3), but not identical.

"Painting of the Nine Old Gentlemen"
Coll.: Tianjin Museum.
Reprod.: *Tianjin yishu bowuguan canghua ji*, pl. 14.

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Comments: This hanging scroll is a forgery, probably from later Ming. The space is rendered in an illogical manner, the brushwork stereotype.

"Immortals"
Coll.: Unknown.
Reprod.: *Shenzhou daguan xubian,* 11.
Comments: Forgery of no interest.

"Celebrating the New Year"
Coll.: Unknown.
Reprod.: *Shenzhou daguan xubian,* 9.
Comments: Forgery of no interest.

MISCELLANEOUS HANGING SCROLLS

"Bamboo, Stone, and a Tall Tree"
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Comments: Forgery of no interest.

D) Album Leaves

"Fields in Summer Rain"
Coll.: Palace Museum, Peking.
Descr.: Square album leaf. – Ink and light colours on silk.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: Zhou Chen zhi yin? (small, square, intaglio).
Coll.'s seal (lower, right corner): An Yizhou jia zhencang (i.e. seal belonging to An Qi).
Inscription by the Qianlong emperor of the Qing dynasty mounted on the opposite side.
Recorded: An Qi, *Moyuan huiguan,* ch. 4.222. – *Shiqu baoji xubian,* vol. 2, p. 1113–1114.
Comments: When recorded by An Qi, this painting was mounted together with a poem by Wen Zhengming. The poem had no relationship to the painting, however, and has now been replaced with a poem by the Qianlong emperor.

"Boat moored by a Stormy Lake"
Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art, Wash.
Descr.: Ink and colours on paper.
Unsigned.

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Reprod.: J. CAHILL, *Chinese Album Leaves in the Freer Gallery of Art*, pl. 26. – *Freer Gallery of Art.* Vol. 1: China, pl. 52.
Comments: This unsigned album leaf was first connected with Zhou Chen's name by Cahill in 1961. It is far too damaged to be judged properly from a photograph. Its style is undoubtedly similar to that of Zhou, although the brushwork seems more careful than is usual in Zhou's oeuvre. When we compare the manner of rendering a stormy ocean to that of "Northern Sea", we find a significant difference in quality. The figure painting is more neatly done than usual.

"Scholar and Servants" (in the album "Jigu minghui")
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Reprod.: T. LAWTON, "Scholar and Servants".
Comments: This unsigned album leaf has been attributed to Zhou Chen by Thomas Lawton. Comparing it to the "Beggars and Street Characters", he says:

"Aside from the more obvious resemblances between the figures in the album leaf in the Palace Museum and the figures in the Honolulu and Cleveland handscrolls, the artist's concern for painting the figures in the midst of some characteristic action and posing them with some calculated distortion, against the blank surface of the paper, suggests that they are works of the same person.[71])

To me the resemblance between the two paintings is not strong enough to merit their being classified as works by the same artist. There is a marked difference in brushwork: In "Beggars and Street Characters" the brush was moved swiftly and in a very natural manner, in "Scholar and Servants" the brushwork is slow and deliberate with a frequent use of "nailhead" strokes. Zhou Chen mostly prefer slim forms and gently curving lines. In "Scholar and Servants" there is a tendency to use circular forms. My main objection against accepting this album leaf as a work from Zhou' hand is, however, the coarse and somewhat vulgar portrayal of the scholar and his servants. They are depicted more as actors in a low-comedy farce than as real human beings. They totally lack the underlying feeling of human dignity and tragedy which characterizes "Beggars and Street Characters".

E) **Foldings Fans**

FANS IN THE LI TANG TRADITION

"Lucid Talk amidst Pine Shadows" (Pl. 50)
Coll. : Wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui, Shanghai.
Descr.: Folding fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink and light colours on gold-powdered paper.

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Signature (right edge): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal of the artist: Zhou shi Shunqing (square, intaglio).
Collector's seal (left edge): Xuzhai cang shan (belonging to Pang Yuanji).

"Listening to the Song in the Pines and the Cascades of Water, when the Autumn Wind fills the Myriad of Ravines" (Mingren huashan, No. 5) (Pl. 51)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink and light colours on gold-powdered paper. – 16.7×48.3 cm.
Signature (right edge): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: (11).
Condition: Somewhat worn.
Recorded: *Shiqu baoji sanbian*, vol. 2, p. 608.

"Leisurely Talk in a Pine-shaded Pavilion"
Coll.: Shanghai Museum.
Descr.: Folding fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink and light colours on gold-powdered paper.
Signature (upper, right corner): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: (11)?

Condition: Very good.

"Conversation below Pines" (Pl. 52)
Coll.: Honolulu Academy of Arts.
Descr.: Fan mounted as album leaf.
Signature (right edge, at the stone): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal (left edge, at the stone): Dongcun (rect., relief).
Collectors' seals: Right edge: 2 seals (unid.) Left edge: Yongqing zhencang (unid.)

"Scholar with a Goosefeather Fan" (Mingren shuhua shanmian, No 6) (Pl. 53)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink on gold-powdered paper. – 19.8 × 53.3 cm.
Signature (right edge): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: (11).
Condition: Worn, especially in the middle and along the ribs.

"Water Pavilions and Paths amidst Pine Valleys" (Mingren huashan, No 2) (Pl. 54)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink and colours on gold-powdered paper.

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–16.7 × 49.0 cm.
Signature (right edge): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: (11).
Condition: Somewhat worn along the ribs and in the middle. One wormhole in the middle.
Recorded: *Shiqu baoji sanbian*, vol. 2, p. 609.

"Mountain Landscape" (Pl. 55 a)
Coll.: Unknown.
Descr.: Ink and light colours on paper.
Signature (right edge): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: Unreadable on reproduction.
Reprod.: O. MÜNSTERBERG, *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*. B. 1, Esslingen 1910, p. 283 (after TAJIMA, *Selected Relics of Japanese Art*, vol. 16.)
Comments: I know this painting from a reproduction of very poor quality. It has, thus, been impossible to form an opinion regarding its authenticity. Its style, however, is similar to Zhou Chen's fan paintings in the Li Tang mode.

"Painting of Su Niaoshi"
Coll.: Bristol City Art Gallery. Acq. no: 7424.
Descr.: Folding fan mounted as album leaf.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen made this for Su Niaoshi.
Seal: Unreadable on photograph.
Inscription signed Hongnan. Seal: Mu (?) wei.
Collectors' seals: Upper, left corner: Meizhai (2 connected seals). Lower, left corner: 1 seal (unid.).
Comments: A scholar is seated on a spotted fur, shaded by pines. He has laid his book aside while contemplating nature. Behind him are some large rocks. A servant, bringing the scholar his *qin* and a bundle of scrolls, is approaching the tiny bridge across the mountain stream. Probably the scholar is intended to be a portrait of Su Niaoshi, the man mentioned in the signature.

The elements of the composition are spread out in order to fit the form of the folding fan. The large rocks in the right picture half are thus obliquely placed, but, as there is a lack of corresponding forms in the left-hand half of the picture the structure is quite out of balance.

There are several traits which are related to other Zhou Chen fans: The sketchy texture strokes in the rocks and cliffs are quite similar to Zhou's manner, although in some places the strokes cross each other in a most untypical manner. The pines are akin to those in "Scholar with a Goosefeather Fan", but more carefully done. While the scholar's gown on the latter fan is drawn with a few, sweeping lines, there are some angular strokes in the gown of Su Niaoshi which are almost mannerist in character. The way of painting water resembles that of

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"Conversation below Pines", but the strokes lack the vivacity and force typical of the latter. The washes depicting the shore in the distance are of an inferior quality when compared to those otherwise found in Zhou's oeuvre. The *taidian* is much more profusely added than in other fans by Zhou.

"A Boat moored among Pines and Cliffs"
Coll.: Hashimoto coll.
Descr.: Folding fan mounted as album leaf. Ink and light colours on gold-powdered paper. – 18 × 51 cm.
Sign.: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: Zhou shi Shunqing (square, intaglio).
Reprod.: [Hashimoto] *Chugoku kaiga-ten,* p. 115, No 100 a.
Comments: The reproduction does not allow a careful examination, but the brushwork seems somewhat stiff and static, the washes somewhat flat compared to those otherwise found in Zhou Chen's works.

OTHER FANS

"Returning Home by Boat in Wind and Rain"
Coll.: Hashimoto.
Descr.: Fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink on paper. – 17.6 × 50.4 cm.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen sketched this for... (unreadable).
Seal: Zhou shi Shunqing (square, intaglio, identical with (6)?).
Collector's seal (lower, right corner): Unreadable on reproduction.
Reprod.: *Hashimoto shuzo: Minshin ga mokuroku,* No 17. – [Hashimoto] *Chugoku kaiga-ten.*

"Ferry on the River" (Pl. 57)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink on gold-powdered paper. – 17 × 48 cm.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: (12).
Condition: Worn, small reparations.

"Scholar Looking at a Waterfall"
Coll.: Hashimoto coll.
Descr.: Fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink and colours on gold-powdered paper. – 18 × 51 cm.
Signature (right edge): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: Zhou shi Shunqing (square, intaglio). Impossible to examine on reproduction.
Comments: The brushwork of this fan seems somewhat loose and the figure

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painting somewhat awkward compared to the rest of Zhou's oeuvre. The authenticity of this interesting work is difficult to judge from a reproduction.

"A Pavilion among Windblown Trees" (Pl. 58 b)
Coll.: Wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui, Shanghai.
Descr.: Folding fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink on gold-powdered paper.
Signature (left edge): Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Collector's seal (lower, right corner): Xuzhai cang shan (belonging to Pang Yuanji).
Reprod.: *Mingqing shanmian xuanji,* pl. 4.

Landscape with Figures
Coll.: Unknown.
Descr.: Painted on gold-powdered paper.
Signature: . . . cun Zhou Chen.
Seal: Dongcun (rect., relief, same type as (3)?).
Inscr.: Long poem signed Luo Yingzhao (unid.).
Seals: Yingzhao, . . . shanren.
Collectors' seals: Lower left corner: 2 seals (unid.). Lower right corner: 1 seal (unid.).
Reprod.: *Shazhai cang sha.*
Comments: The composition is strongly influenced by the Zhe-school, with much empty space and a main scene taking place below an overhanging cliff. The brushwork, too, is similar to that of the Zhe-painters — short and abbreviated, with an extensive use of washes. Unfortunately the quality of the reproduction is too poor to allow any judgement of its authenticity.

"Listening to the Cascades of Water in a Pine Valley" (Mingren huashan, No 1) (Pl. 56)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Descr.: Fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink on gold-powdered paper. – 17.2 × 48.5 cm.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: (10).
Inscription by Du Mu. Seal: Du shi Xuanjing.
Collectors' seals: Upper edge, right side: Lingtai jianding zhenji (unid.). Right edge: Zhu Zhichi jianshang (belonging to the famous collector Zhu Zhichi of the Ming dynasty). Seals from the Qing imperial collections.
Condition: Good. Somewhat worn along the edges of the fan-ribs. Repaired at the upper edge.
Recorded: *Shiqu baoji sanbian,* vol. 2, p. 610.
Reprod.: JIANG Zhaoshen, "Guayu Tang Yin de yanjiu", 4, pl. 35. – *Shina nanga taisei,* vol. 8, pl. 28.

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"Travellers on a Mountain Road"
Coll.: Victoria and Albert Museum.
Descr.: Fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink on gold-powdered paper. – L.: 52 cm.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen.
Seal: Unreadable on photo.
Coll. seals (lower, left corner): Impossible to read on photo.
Reprod.: *Arts of the Ming Dynasty*, cat. no 11, pl. 16.
Comments: The painting shows a road winding around an overhanging cliff. On the road there is a man on horseback, followed by several attendants. To the left huge waves meet the cliffs of the shore. The forms of the landscape are bent towards the centre of the painting: Tall trees grow almost perpendicularly to the fan-ribs, the cliff is dangerously overhanging. The brushwork is difficult to relate to other works by Zhou Chen. We find a strange mixture of washes side by side with linearly depicted forms (as in the stones framing the road). The manner of depicting an ocean is different from that of Zhou's other works, where linear qualities are more prevalent. We find here a "split-brush" effect, otherwise rare in Zhou's art. I am not convinced that this is an authentic work.

"Emperor Minghuang Touring the Moon Palace"
Coll.: Palace Museum, Peking.
Descr.: Fan mounted as album leaf. – Ink and bright colours on gold-powdered paper.
Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen did a painting of Minghuang touring the Moon Palace.
Seal: Shunqing (rect., intaglio).
Coll. seals: Upper, left corner: Lexiangzhai (unid.), Jizhen yiyin (unid.), Cangwei (unid.). Lower left corner: Shenpin.
Comments: The fan shows the Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang-dynasty (popularly called Minghuang) watching the Rainbow Garment Dance in the Moon Palace. Minghuang's travel to the moon is one of the many legends connected with the famous concubine Yang Guifei. The narration of the meeting between the two lovers in the Moon Palace seems to be of a late origin. It is rendered in some detail in the famous opera "The Palace of Eternal Youth", written during early Qing. The motif does not seem to have been popular in pictorial art.

The fan is done in a decorative style appropriate to the courtly motif. The colours are bright and the palatial architecture is embellished with many details in a *gongbi* technique. The brushwork, however, is somewhat freer than in corresponding works by Qiu Ying.

The scene is viewed from a bird-eye's perspective, rarely seen in Zhou's oeuvre, but found with a certain frequency in Qiu Ying's art and also particularly popular in woodblock illustrations.

The fan lacks parallels in Zhou's oeuvre, and as I saw the painting for a short

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time in the Palace Museum, which gave me little opportunity to scrutinize details, I have been unable to form any opinion on the question of authenticity.

"Walking Alone in a Bamboo Grove" (also called "Figure in Landscape") (Mingren huace, No 9)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Reprod.: *Gugong zhoukan,* vol. 12, No 265, p. 4)
Comments: Extremely poor quality. A forgery of no interest.

"Calling for Ferry at a River in Autumn" (Mingren huashan jice, I:3)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Reprod.: *Gugong zhoukan,* vol. 11, No 242, p. 1. – *Shina nanga taikan,* vol. 8, pl. 25.
Comments: Poor quality. A forgery of no interest.

"Scholar with Attendant at a River Bank"
Coll.: Formerly in the Palace Museum, Peking. Present circumstances unknown.
Reprod.: *Gugong zhoukan,* vol. 11, No 243, p. 1. – *Shina nanga taikan,* vol. 8, pl. 31.
Comments: Forgery of no interest.

"Sails at the River and Pavilions among the Mountains" (Mingren shantou hua, 1)
Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Reprod.: *Gugong zhoukan,* vol. 11, No 235, p. 1. – *Shina nanga taikan,* vol. 8, pl. 27.
Comments: Forgery of poor quality.

"An Elegant Gathering in a Garden Pavilion"
Coll.: Unknown.
Reprod.: *Mingren shuhua shanji,* vol. 4, pl. 1.
Comments: A later forgery with weak brushwork and awkward figure painting.

"Village near the Water"
Coll.: Unknown.
Reprod.: *Mingren shuhua shan ji,* vol. 47, pl. 1 (identical with the fan reproduced in *Lidai minghua jingpin xuanji,* vol. 1, pl. 28?).
Comments: A forgery with very monotonous brushwork.

"Artist with Servant Preparing Tea"
Coll.: Formerly Franco Vannotti coll.
Reprod.: *Arts of the Ming Dynasty,* cat. no 12, pl. 16.
Comments: The reproduction is of very poor quality. To judge by the

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reproduction, the fan seems spurious. (In a letter Vannotti informed me that he returned the fan to the dealer as he considered it a forgery.)

Three Landscapes reproduced in *Gugong zhoukan*

1) *Gugong zhoukan,* vol. 3, No 57, p. 3: The composition is more crowded than usual. The volumes lack any 3-dimensional quality.
2) *ibid,* vol. 3, No 62, p. 3: The brushwork is very abbreviated. The composition lacks stability.
3) *ibid,* vol. 4, No 78, p. 3: The brushwork is very abbreviated, the lines in the background too heavy.

The quality of the reproductions is poor. My impression is that they are better classified as works of late Ming.

Fans in the Yanyun Baoji Collection

Coll.: NPM, Taipei.
Comments: This collection of fans in the NPM, Taipei, includes several fans signed with Zhou Chen's name. Most of them have *not* been remounted as album leaves. Since there is a great risk that they may be damaged each time they are opened, the museum is reluctant to display them at the moment. According to hearsay, none of the fans are convincing as works by Zhou.
109) "Picking Leaves and Making Tea". (Reprod.: *Gugong zhoukan,* vol. 21, No 508, p. 4. – *Canjia Lundun Zhongguo yishu guoji zhanlan hui,* vol. 4, p. 93.)

This is the only well-known fan by Zhou in this collection, as it was displayed at the London exhibition in 1936. A late work of no particular interest.
110) "Cold Mountains and Withered Trees".
111) "Pleasures of Farming".
112) "Cloudy Mountains".
113) "Fishing".

Remounted as album leaf. A late work of no particular interest.
234) "Seeking Autumn in the Southern Peaks". With a poem signed with Tang Yin's name.

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APPENDIX: RECORDED PAINTINGS

[1]) For the scrolls in Yan Song's collection, see chapter II, note 109.

[2]) Painting with an inscription by Tang Yin.

Rec.: TANG Yin, *Tang Bohu xiansheng quanji*, vol. 2, p. 573: *Tang Bohu xiansheng waipian xuke*, ch. 11. 2a.

[3]) Landscape painted for the Nanjing scholar Gu Lin (1476–1545).

Inscribed by the painter Xu Lin.

Recorded: GU Lin, *Gu Huayu ji*, ch. 8. 15 a (p. 3567): *Zhongshan ji*, 4.

[4]) Two landscapes inscribed by Gu Lin.

Rec.: *ibid*, ch. 29. 13 b–14 a (P. 4130–4131): *Xiyuan zungao shi*, 14.

[5]) Portrait of Zhang Binhe.

Rec.: WANG Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu gao*, ch. 138. 11 a–11 b.

idem, *Yanzhou shanren sibu xugao*, ch. 169.

Quoted: SUN Guang, *Shuhua baba*, ch. 3. 24 b.

Peiwenzhai shuhua pu, (1969-ed.), ch. 87. 22 b (Vol. 4, p. 2115).

[6]) The Nightly Revels of Han Xizai.

Rec.: Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu gao*, ch. 138. 11 b–22 a.

Quoted: SUN Guang, *Shuhua baba*, ch. 3. 25 a.

Peiwenzhai shuhua pu, (1969-ed.), ch. 87. 22 b–23 b (Vol. 4, p. 2115–2116).

[7]) Paintings by famous men from Suzhou. Handscroll, including 8 small landscapes by Zhou Chen. (In the collection of Wang Shizhen).

Rec.: WANG Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu gao*, ch. 138. 12 b–13 a.

Quoted: SUN Guang, *Shuhua baba*, ch. 3. 26 a.

[8]) Fans mounted as a handscroll. 21 fans by Ming painters, including 7 fans by Zhou Chen. (In the collection of Wang Shizhen.)

Rec.: WANG Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu gao*, ch. 138. 14 a–15 b.

(The titles of the paintings in Wang Shizhen's collection were later recorded in:

WANG Luoyo, *Shanhu wang*, ch. 23.

Peiwenzhai shuhua pu, ch. 98.

BIAN Yongyu, *Shigutang*, ch. 2.

LI Tiaoyuan, *Zhujia canghua pu*, ch. 10.

These sources incorrectly attribute a copy after Li Gonglin's "Lotus Society" in Wang's collection to Zhou Chen, though the entry in *Yanzhou shanren sibu gao*, ch. 138. 13 a clearly shows that this was an anonymous work.)

[9]) An illustration after Han Yu's *Huaji jingwu ("Depictions of Sceneries")*, painted in cooperation between Shen Zhou and Zhou Chen. Han Yu's essay added in running script by Wen Zhengming.

Rec.: LI Rihua, *Weishuixuan riji*, ch. 2. 77.

(For the essay, see HAN Yu, *Han Changli ji*, Sect. 4, ch. 13. 11–12.)

[10]) Long handscroll in the coll. of the Fan-family.

Rec.: Li Rihua, *Weishuixuan riji*, ch. 4. 2 a–b.

[11]) A Hut in the Wuyun.

Rec.: *ibid*, ch. 4. 2 b.

[12]) Studio in the Mei (Prunus) Valley (in the collection of Li Rihua).

Rec.: *ibid*, ch. 8. 2 b.

[13]) Painting with an inscription by Tang Yin.

Rec.: WANG Luoyu, *Shanhu wang*, ch. 15 (p. 1102–1103).

Quoted: BIAN Yongyu, *Shigutang*, ch. 26 (Vol. 4, p. 449).

TANG Yin, *Tang Bohu xiansheng quanji*, vol. 1, p. 112: *Tang Bohu waipian*, ch. 1.

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[14]) Autumn in a Bamboo Valley (in the coll. of Wang Luoyu).
Rec.: WANG Luoyu, *Shanhu wang*, ch. 15 (p. 1102–1103).
Quoted: *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu*, (1969-ed.), ch. 100. 40 a (Vol. 4, p. 2448).

[15]) Reading "The Book of Changes" in a Wintry Forest (in the coll. of Wang Luoyu).
Rec.: WANG Luoyu, *Shanhu wang*, ch. 15 (p. 1102–1103).
Quoted: *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu*, (1969-ed.), ch. 100. 40 a (Vol. 4, p. 2448).

[16]) Enjoyment in the Hao River (in the coll. of Wang Luoyu).
Probably an illustration to *Zhuangzi*, ch. 19: *Autumn Flood*, where Zhuangzi and Huizi discuss the joy of being a fish in the Hao River.
Rec.: WANG Luoyu, *Shanhu Wang*, ch. 15 (p. 1102–1103).
Quoted: *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu*, (1969-ed.), ch. 100. 40 b (Vol. 4, p. 2448).

[17]) Pleasures at an Autumn River. Handscroll in the style of Li Tang, depicting men fishing, gathering wood, ploughing, reading.
Rec.: GU Fu, *Pingsheng zhuangguan*, ch. 10 (Vol. 4, p. 69).

[18]) The *Bili* Garden *(bili = ficus pumila)*. Handscroll in the style of Li Tang. The *Bili* Garden was owned by Xu Jin *(jinshi* 1505) and the scroll was inscribed by him as well as by his father-in-law Wang Ao (1450–1524, high official from Suzhou, friend of Shen Zhou), Shao Bao (1460–1527, prominent official who retired from politics after enmity with Liu Jin), Wen Zhengming, and Xu Zuanzong (1480–1560, from Taian in Shandong, even he a prominent official).
The title of the painting was written by the famous statesman Li Dongyang (1447–1516).
Rec.: *ibid, loc. cit.*

[19]) The Eastern Mountain. On silk. Made for Wang Ao.
Rec.: *ibid, loc. cit.*

[20]) Paintings done in Return for Medical Help. Painted for Liu Mengju. Depicting the dwelling of a herb-doctor in a landscape setting.
Rec.: *ibid*, p. 69–70.

[21]) Painting of Fu Yue. On paper. In the manner of Li Tang. Depicting the meeting between the messenger of emperor Gaozong of the Yin dynasty and Fu Yue outside the latter's home. Fu's wife is shown inside the house.
Rec.: *ibid*, p. 70.

[22]) Abandoning the Oar in the Midst of a River. Hanging scroll. On paper. In the manner of Gao Kegong. Signed with the name of Tang Yin. Gu Fu suspects this to be a ghost-painting by Zhou Chen.
Rec.: *ibid, loc. cit.*

[23]) The North Pole. Hanging scroll. Illustration to Taoist mythology.
Rec.: *ibid, loc. cit.*

[24]) Zhong Kui (the Demon-queller). Ink on paper. Figure painting on a blank surface.
Rec.: *Loc. cit.*

[25]) The Four Seasons (4 paintings). In *qinglü* manner.
Rec.: ZHAO Qimei, *Mowangguan shumu*, Ce 4: *Hua*, p. 15 a.

[26]) A Rising Dragon.
Rec.: ZHU Zhichi, *Zhu Woan cang shuhua mu*, p. 120.

[27]) Scenery with Cloudy Mountains. A small hanging scroll.
Ink and light colours on paper. Depicts an autumn landscape, a boy sweeping the ground, a guest arriving. Signed (in regular script): "Dongcun Zhou Chen sketched this for his respected friend Shu Binyan (or Yan with the *hao* Shubin)". Seal (rect., relief): Dongcun Zhou Chen xie. 7-words poem by Du Mu. Seal (rect., relief): Yimao juren, jiwei jinshi.
Rec.: BIAN Yongyu, *Shigutang*, ch. 26 (Vol. 4, p. 449).
WU Sheng, *Daguan lu*, ch. 19. 23 b (Vol. 4, p. 2346) under the title "Clouded Mountains".

[28]) Handscroll depicting the landscape along Yangzi. A more than 61 feet long handscroll. Inscriptions above the topographic sites. Signed: "Dongcun Zhou Chen finished this on the 15th day of the 9th lunar month *in* the *yiwei* year of the great Ming dynasty [i.e. 1535]". Seal: Zhou shi Shunqing. Estimated worth by Gao Shiqi: 20

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ounces of silver.
Rec.: GAO Shiqi, *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu*, ch. 3. 68 b (p. 446). *idem, Jiangcun shuhua mu: Yongzun miwan: Shangshang shenpin.*

[29]) Nine Generations living together. (Painting in the coll. of the family of Sun Shenxing (1564–1635). Depicting the family of Zhang Gongyi of the Tang dynsty, where nine generations were living together.
Rec.: *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu*, (1969-ed.), ch. 87. 23 b–24 a (vol. 4, p. 2116), quoting SUN Shenxing, *Xuanyanxiao wenchao.*

[30]) Copy after Zhao Boju's illustration to the "Odes to the Red Cliff" by Su Shi. (Painted with ink and light red colour, whereas the Song original was done in the *qinglü manner.)*
Rec.: ibid, ch. 99. 10 b (Vol. 4, p. 2415) quoting ZHAN Jingfeng, *Dongtu xuanlan.*
(See even Contag, p. 186.)

[31]) Scholar with a Lute visiting a Friend. Hanging scroll. Ink and colours on silk. In the style of Li Tang. Depicts two pines below a mountain, a man in a thatched hut, a man with a lute crossing a bridge. Signature: "Dongcun Zhou Chen did this". Seals: Dongcun; Shunqing.
Rec.: LU Shihua. *Wu Yue suo jian shuhua lu*, ch. 2. 78 a–b.

[32]) "Fans by Ming Painters" – 4 sets. Set no I: 4–9 by Zhou Chen.
No 4: Ink and colours on golden paper. Landscape. Inscription: "A painting of a drunken fisherman. Dongcun Zhou Chen." Seal: Dongcun.
No 5: Ink and colours on golden paper. Landscape. Inscription: "I looked back from the Jin Sea [unidentified], and saw the Zhong Hills [in Nanjing] towering above the clouds, and the Phoenix portals of the imperial city walls. All of a sudden, I saw the scenery change. Leisurely I did this painting. Dongcun Zhou Chen."
No 6: Ink and colours on golden paper. Landscape. Unsigned. Seal: Dongcun.
No 7: Ink and colours on golden paper. Figures in a landscape. Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen. Seal: Zhou Chen zhi yin.
No 8: Ink and colours on golden paper. Depicting the pleasures of a fisherman. Signature: Dongcun shi. Seal: Zhou Dongcun shi.
No 9: Ink on golden paper. Landscape. Inscription: "Dongcun did this for mr. Wanfeng". Wanfeng is probably identical with Cui Jin (1456–1507).
Rec.: *Shiqu baoji zhengbian*, vol. 1, p. 331–332.

[33]) Yanqing huimei – 4 sets of fans. Set no II: 23–25 by Zhou Chen.
No 23: Ink and light colours on golden paper: A man with a lute walking below pines, a man sitting in a thatched cottage. Signature: "Dongcun Zhou Chen". Seal: Zhou Shunqing shi. Short poem signed Fuxizi (unidentified), seal: Ziyi.
No 24: Ink and light colours on golden paper. Depicts a dwelling in the mountains – the host is welcoming a guest riding on horseback. Signature: "Dongcun Zhou Chen". Seal: Zhou Shunqing shi.
No 25: Ink on golden paper. Motif: Conversation in a thatched cottage. Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen. Seal: Unreadable.
Rec.: *Shiqu baoji xubian*, vol. 2, p. 532–544.

[34]) Cutting Reeds in the Fields during Spring. Hanging scroll. Ink and colours on silk. Motif: Houses among water mellows. A man squatting between the houses, a young man welcoming 2 guests. Outside a fence 3 men in a row, carrying harvesting tools. Signature: "Dongcun Zhou Chen". Poem by Zheng Shanfu (1485–1523) – a Vice-minister in the Nanjing Ministry of Personnel. Seal: Zheng Jizhi shi. – Poem by Wang Chong. Seals: Shihu caotang; Wang Lüqi yin. – Poem by Fang Hao (*jinshi* 1508). According to Fang Hao's inscription, the painting was done for Zheng Shanfu and depicted the latter's dwelling in Southern Hao near the Chang-gate (in Suzhou). – Inscription by the Qianlong emperor.
Rec.: *ibid*, vol. 6, p. 3267.

[35]) Painting of the Jin Creek. Handscroll. Ink and colours on silk. Motif: Lotus-flowers shaded by willow-trees. A creek encircling a pavilion, against whose railing a man is leaning. One man is walking on the other side of the creek, while another is crossing the bridge, followed by a boy with a lute. Incription: "The Jin creek. Dongcun Zhou Chen did this for Zheng Wenqing [unidentified]". Seal: Shunqing. 8 colophones praising the

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lotus-garden of Zheng Wenjing: 1) By Cai Yu (d. 1541) – a famous literatus from Suzhou. The colophone dated 1528. Seals: Seal shaped as a *ding* vessel; Cai shi Jiukui; Xushouzhai yin. 2) By Wang Chong. Seals: Wang Lūqi yin; Weiweizhai. 3) By Xie Shichen. Seals: Shushan Xie Zizhong; Baiyun caotang. 4) By Yue Dai – a poet from Suzhou, living during middle Ming. Seals: Yue Dongbo yin; Xishan zhenyin. 5) By Wang Huan (*jinshi* 1496) – an official from Changzhou. Seal: Shujian zhuanjia. 6) By Shen Jingshi (unidentified). Seals: Shen Yu fu yin; Wumen Jingshi yin. 7) By Chen Liangxiang (unidentified). Seals: Chen Liangxiang yin, Chen Zixian yin. 8) By Yu Fan from Liyang (or with *hao* Liyang) (unidentified). Seal: Chuchuang youhu.
Collectors' seals: Xiuning Zhu Zhichi zhencang tushu.
Rec.: *Shiqu baoji sanbian*, vol. 4, p. 1809.

[36]) Paintings of 5 Sages. With an inscription signed with Tang Yin's name. 4 album leaves. Bluish paper. The Tang Yin inscription: 13 lines in regular script, signed Jinchang Tang Yin. Seal: Liuru jushi.
Rec.: TAO Liang, *Hongdou shuguan shuhua ji*, ch. 6. 34.

[37]) Sitting in the Shadow of Pines. Hanging scroll. Paper. Motif: 2 recluses conversing below pines near a stream. Signature: "Dongcun Zhou Chen". Seals: Zhou Chen zhi yin; Dongcun.
Rec.: ZHANG Dayong, *Ziyiyuezhai shuhua lu*, ch. 3. 5a.

[38]) Parson Crows. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. Motif: Winter landscape with crowds of birds in an old cypress tree. Signature: "Dongcun Zhou Chen". Seals: Dongcun; Shunqin. Inscriptions: By Zhou Yong (1476–1547) – an official from Wujiang. Seal: Xing (or Sheng) zhi. – By Fei Cai (1483–1548) from Qianshan (Jiangxi). Seal: Zihe.
Rec.: *ibid*, ch. 3. 5a–6a.

[39]) Transmitting the *Dao*. Hanging scroll. Silk. Motif: 2 men below pines reading from a book. Signature: "Dongcun Zhou Chen". Seals: Shun . . .; Dongcun.
Rec.: *ibid*, ch. 3. 6a–b.

[40]) The Wheat at Huotuo. Hanging scroll. Silk. Inscription: "Eating the wheat at Huotuo. Painted by Dongcun Zhou Chen". Seal: Zhou yin Dongcun. This is probably a depiction of an episode narrated in *Houhan shu*, during which Feng Yi brought food to the army of the founder of the Eastern Han dynasty, when it was in a very critical situation at Huotuo. (Cf. *Houhan shu*, ch. 17. 2a-b. (Vol. 1, p. 241).)
Rec.: *ibid*, ch. 5. 6b–7a.

[41]) Collection of Fans. Set no 5, fan no 7 by Zhou Chen. Ink on golden paper. Landscape. Signature: Guwu Zhou Chen. Seal: Zhou shi Chen.
Rec.: *ibid*, ch. 5. 6b–7a.

[42]) Handscroll with Pines and Cranes (symbols of longevity). Paper. (Characterized as a work of outstanding quality, different from the style of the Yuanti school).
Rec.: LIANG Zhangju, *Tuian jinshi shuhua ba*, ch. 15 (p 967).

[43]) Landscape. Hanging scroll. Silk. Inscription: "Gusu Zhou Chen did this during the 2nd month of the *bingshen* year of the Jiajiing era [1536]".
Rec.: *ibid*, ch. 15 (p. 967).

[44]) Landscape. Hanging scroll. Silk. Signature: "Zhou Chen".
Rec.: *ibid*, ch. 15 (p. 967).

[45]) Listening to Autumn. Handscroll. Ink on paper. Motif: Withered trees below a steep cliff. A man crying while listening to the geese among the reeds and bamboo on the opposite river bank. Signature: "Dongcun Zhou Chen". Seal: Dongcun. 5 colophones: 1) By Yao Shou (1422–95), dated 1490. Seals: Gongshou (square, relief); Yaotaiyuhe (square, relief); Yao shi Zixiabiyue shantang (square, relief). 2) Wang Runan (unidentified). Seals: Runan (square, relief); Xinghua chunyu Jiangnan (square, relief); Sanhuaitang (rect., relief). 3) Tang Yin. Seal: Wuqu. 4) Du Mu. Seal: Yimao jingwei xianggong jiinshi (square, relief) i.e. "Passed the Metropolitan Examination and got the *jinshi* degree in the *yimao* year [1495]". According to the *juren* lists, Du Mu became a *juren* in 1495 (WU Xiuzhi, *Wuxian zhi*, vol. 1, p. 134). He did not become a *jinshi* until 4 years later in 1499. 5) Jiang Ang (unidentified), dated the summer of 1490. Seals: Jiaxu jinshi (square, intaglio); Chengmolin zhi yilie beijing zhi qingfeng (rect., relief); Yangxingqing (rect., relief). Jiang Ang's colophone says that the painting depicts the son of his friend Gu Zongqi (unid.), mourning his parents. The colophone by Du Mu with a seal dated

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1495 (not to mention the spurious legend of this seal), mounted before Jiang Ang's colophone from 1490, makes it difficult to accept this material at its face value.
Rec.: *ibid*, ch. 3. 8b–9a (p. 236–237).
PANG Yuanji, *Xuzhai minghua lu*, ch. 3 (Vol. 1. p. 279–282).

[46]) The Sound of Mountain Torrents in a Pine Valley. Handscroll. Ink and colours on paper. Motif: Mountain landscape with pines and water falls. A wanderer followed by a boy with a lute outside a temple. To the left, a landscape seen in a level distance perspective. Signature: "Dongcun Zhou Chen." (Running script). Seal: Dongcun (rect., relief). 3 colophones on separate paper: 1) Poem by Chen Liu (1506–75) – a calligrapher from Suzhou. Seal: Chen Zijian. 2) Appraisal of the painting by Wang Zhideng (1535–1612) dated 1615, i.e. 3 years after Wang's actual death. Seals: Deng (square, relief); Wang Bogu (square, intagl.) 3) Poem by Dan Chongguang (unid.). Seal: Dan Chongguang (square, intagl.) Dan's seal also after the title of the painting: Dan (round, relief).
Rec.: LI Zuoxian, *Shuhua jianying*, ch. 6. 10b–11a (Vol. 1, p. 368–369).

[47]) One Hundred Centenarians. Handscroll. Ink and colours on paper. Signature: Dongcun Zhou Chen. Seals: Zhou Chen zhi yin (square, intagl.); Shunchen (square, relief). Colophone by Ruan Yuan (1764–1849), dated 1808.
Rec.: DU Ruilian, *Gufen'ge shuhua ji*, ch. 14. 40a–41b.

[48]) Immortals offering Longevity. 12 screen paintings. Silk. Inscription: "Painted in the second month of spring in the *bingzi* year of the Zhengde era [1516], copying the style of Northern Song. Dongcun Zhou Chen."
Rec.: *ibid*, ch. 14. 42a–43b.
YANG Enshou, *Yanfu bian: Chuji*, ch. 10. 16a–b (Vol. 2, p. 643–644); *ibid: Sanji*, ch. 7. 4a–b (Vol. 4, p. 1677–78).

[49]) Offering Lions as a Tribute. Large hanging scroll. Silk. Signature: "Winter of the *jiazi* year in the Jiajing era [1564!]".Seal: Zhou shi Shunqing (square relief).
Rec.: DU Ruilian, *Gufen'ge shuhua ji*, ch. 14. 44a–b.
YANG Enshou, *Yanfu bian: Chuji*, ch. 10. 17a (Vol. 2, p. 645), *ibid: Sanji*, ch. 7. 4b (Vol. 4, p. 1678).
(Gufen'ge shuhua ji is the catalogue of the collection of Du Ruilian. *Yanfu bian* is a collection of colophones written for the paintings in this collection. According to Yu Zhaosong, both books show such a lack of sound judgement that they are unworthy of serious consideration. (YU Zhaosong, *Shuhua shumu jieti*, ch. 6. 22b–23a)

[50]) Landscape in colours. Hanging scroll. Ink and colours on silk. Signature: "Dongcun Zhou Chen did this in the 2nd month of spring in the first year of the Zhengde era in the year of *bingyin* [1506]." Seals: Zhou Chen zhi yin (square, intagl.); Shunchen (square, relief). The legend of the seal "Shunchen" may seem spurious, but it is worth noting that in the scroll "Listening to the Mountain Stream", now in Boston, Lu Xinyuan misread a seal with the legend Shunqing as Shunchen.
Rec.: LU Xinyuan, *Rangliguan guoyan lu*, ch. 16. 18b.

[51]) Views from a Spring Excursion. Handscroll. Ink and colours on silk. Signature: "Dongcun Zhou Chen did this." Seal: Dongcun (rect., relief). Title on a separate paper, signed "Zhengming" (i.e. Wen Zhengming). Seals: Wen Zhengming yin (square, intagl., characters in reverse order); Hengshan (square, relief). 2 colphones: 1) By Wen Zhengming (on separate paper). Describes an excursion to the Zhixing and Tianping Mts (in Wu *xian*). The colophone is dated 1554. Seals: Tingyun (rect., relief); Wen Zhengming yin (square, intagl., characters in reverse order); Hengshan (square, relief). 2) By Zhou Eryong (unid.). Seals: Zhou Eryong yin (square, intaglio; characters in reverse order); Rongzhai (square, relief).
Rec.: *ibid: xulu*, ch. 6. 15a–16a.

[52]) Landscape painting. Fan. Ink and colours on golden paper. Motif: Men in the shadow of pines. Signature (lower, right corner): "Dongcun Zhou Chen". Seal: Dongcun (relief). Inscription on the back of the fan by an imperial prince of the Qing dynasty (Jiaqing era).
Rec.: *Neiwubu guwuchenliesuo shuhua mulu*, ch. 11. 1b.

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NOTES

BACKGROUND

[1]) Jung-pang Lo, "Policy Formulation and Decision-making".

[2]) Gu Yingtai, *Mingshi jishi benmo*, ch.31 (Part 5, p.6–13).

[3]) *ibid*, ch.38 (Part 6, p.1–7).

[4]) *Mingshi*, ch.16.4a (Vol.1, p.137).

[5]) Gu Yingtai, *Mingshi jishi benmo*, ch.45 (Part 7, p.1–13), ch.48 (Part 7, p.31–38).

[6]) Lü Zhenyu, *Jianming Zhongguo tongshi*, p.809–815.

[7]) R. Huang, "Fiscal Administration during the Ming Dynasty".

[8]) *ibid*.

[9]) For a short survey of the historical development of the Jiangnan region, cf. Qian Mu, *Guoshi dagang*, p.505–563.

[10]) (Matteo Ricci) *China in the 16th Century*, p.317.

[11]) Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China*, p.7–10.

[12]) Records of good and bad harvests, famines, etc. are mostly listed in the chapters "Records of Strange Events" *(Xiangyi zhi)* in the local gazetteers.

[13]) The waterways of the region were cleansed and deepened several times during the period to enormous costs. Cf. Gu Yingtai, *Mingshi jishi benmo*, ch.25 (Part 4, p.30–34).

[14]) Fu Yiling, "Mingdai Suzhou zhigong", p.26 (quoting Cao Shipin's report after the 1601-revolt, recorded in *Ming shilu*, Wanli, ch.361).

[15]) *ibid*, p.22.

[16]) Wang Ao et al., *Gusu zhi*, ch.14.25a-b (Vol.1, p.210); Fu Yiling, "Mingdai Jiangnan fuhu de fenxi", p.558–559.

[17]) E. S. Rawski, *Agricultural Change*, p.7.

[18]) *Mingshi*, ch.78.4a (Vol.2, p.820).

[19]) *ibid, loc.cit.*

[20]) *ibid*, ch.78.4a–b (Vol.2, p.820).

[21]) Gu Yanwu, *Ri zhi lu*, vol.1, ch.4, p.48–49.

[22]) *Mingshi*, ch.78.5a–b (Vol.2, p.821).

The question of the heavy taxation of Jiangnan has caused much debate among modern historians: Wu Qihua and R. Huang both claim that the taxation was not unduly heavy when the dense population, the fertile soil and the benefit the area received from government water-control projects are taken into consideration. (Wu Qihua, "Lun 'Mingshi shihua zhi'" ; R. Huang, "Fiscal Administration during the Ming Dynasty", p.107–108.) Wang Zhongluo claims to the contrary that the taxes were too heavy and that the Hongwu emperor raised the taxes in Jiangnan, and especially in silk-producing Suzhou, Jiaxing, Huzhou and Hangzhou as well as in cotton-producing Songjiang, for the purpose of forcing the inhabitants to continue their textile-production, as it was the textile production which enabled these prefectures to pay their taxes. (Wang Zhongluo, "Mingdai Su Song Jia Hu si fu", p.17–18.)

[23]) Fu Yiling, "Mingdai Jiangnan fuhu de fenxi", p.550 (quoting *Ming shilu*, Longqing, ch.24).

[24]) *idem*, "Mingdai Jiangnan dizhu jingji xin fazhan", p.56.

[25]) Li Guangbi, "Mingdai shougongye de fazhan".

[26]) Fu Yiling, "Mingdai Suzhou zhigong".

[27]) *ibid*, p.21 (quoting Xu Yikui, *Shifeng gao*, ch.1).

[28]) *idem*, "Mingdai Jiangnan fuhu de fenxi", p.545–546 (quoting Gui Youguang, *Zhenchuan wenji*, ch.25).

[29]) *ibid*, p.564.

[30]) Ping-ti Ho, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China*.

[31]) *Mingshi*, ch.70.5a–6b (Vol.1, p.727).

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[32]) Wilson and Wong, *Friends of Wen Cheng-ming*, p.22.

[33]) Xie Guozhen, *Mingdai shehui jingji shiliao xuanbian*, vol.1, p.278–279 (quoting Zhang Xiaju, *Honglan yisheng).*

[34]) *Suzhou gudian yuanlin*, p.5.

[35]) The *shi*-metres include both *lüshi* ("regulated poetry" – poetry with a strictly regulated rhyme pattern) and *gushi* ("ancient poetry" – poetry of a freer pattern). Common for *lüshi* and *gushi* is that all strophes in a poem are of the same length – either 5 or 7 characters. The *shi* poetry reached its peak of development during the Tang dynasty.

[36]) Chu-tsing Li, "The Development of Painting in Soochow".

[37]) Du Qiong, *Du Dongyuan ji*, p. 90–97.

[38]) Anne de Coursey Clapp, *Wen Cheng-ming.*

[39]) *ibid*, p.91.

[40]) Cf. e.g.: "Two Pines" by Cao Zhibo, and "Twin Pines" by Wu Zhen, both scrolls in the NPM, Taipei.

[41]) A. Clapp, *Wheng Cheng-ming*, p. 93.

BIOGRAPHY

[1]) *Tuhui baojian xubian* is obviously wrong when giving the form Shunchen as his *zi:* This form is not found in any other printed source, nor in the legend of any of Zhou Chen's seals – the form Shunqing, on the contrary, is a common legend on his seals.

[2]) Xia Wenyan et al., *Tuhui baojian*, ch. 6 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 839). Ch. 6 of *Tuhui baojian* (i.e. *Tuhui baojian xubian*) was first printed in 1519.

[3]) He Liangjun, *Siyouzhai hualun*, (*YSCB*, vol. 12, p. 43).

[4]) *ibid*, p. 45.

[5]) There were two famous landscape painters with the surname Li during the Song dynasty: Li Cheng and Li Tang. That it is Li Tang who is referred to here, I infer from the fact that Li is mentioned after Guo [Xi]. Li Cheng – predecessor of Guo Xi – is usually mentioned first, as in the expression "Li-Guo mode" (i.e. the style of Li Cheng and Guo Xi). Furthermore, Zhou Chen's style of painting is commonly associated with that of Li Tang and not with that of Li Cheng.

[6]) The expression *"bangbo"* is used in the same way as the phrase *"banbo"* or *"jieyi banbo"*. The phrase is from *Zhuangzi*, describing an artist, who – while painting – took off his robes and stretched out his legs. This has become an idiom for the untrammeled mood of an artist at work. (*Zhuangzi*, ch. 21, transl. Watson, p. 228)

[7]) "An indirect follower" indicates that Zhou Chen painted in the style of Dai Jin, but had no personal pupil-relationship to him.

[8]) Wang Shizhen, *Yiyuan zhiyan*, ch. 12.13 a.

[9]) *ibid*, ch. 12. 27 a–b.

Wang Shizhen should be considered a very reliable source. Also he a native of the Suzhou prefecture (from Taicang), he was well acquainted with the literary and artistic circles in Jiangnan of his day. There was also a certain relationship between his family and the Yan-family, albeit of hostile character. (Cf. Wu Han, "Jinpingmei de zhuzuo shidai ji qi shehui beijing".) Wang Shizhen has even written a biography of Yan Song: "Daxueshi Yan gong Song zhuan". (*Guochao xianzheng lu*, ch. 16.44 a–65 b (Vol. 1, p. 570–581).

[10]) The six principles of painting *(liufa)* were the six basic principles of painting formulated by Xie He in the 5th century.

[11]) Liu Feng, *Xu Wu xianxian can*, ch. 13.11 b–12 a.

[12]) Wang Zhideng, *Guochao Wujun danqing zhi* (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 1440).

[13]) Zhu Mouyan, *Huashi Huiyao*, ch. 4.55 b: "Zhou Chen. *Zi:* Shunqing. *Hao:* Dongcun. From Wu. His landscape and figure paintings are all of a light and pure character. A critic [i.e. Wang Zhideng] has

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characterized it as [filled with] steep mountains and thick mists, countenances of olden times and strange adornments. It all has a traditional beauty. He was also skilled in composing poems." (Zhu Mouyan quotes Wang Zhideng incorrectly: Instead of "Xia shen lan hou'峽深嵐厚, he writes "Xia qi lan hou'峽氣嵐厚, which makes no sense. I have therefore translated according to Wang Zhideng's text.)

[14]) Niu Ruolin, *Wuxian zhi*, ch. 53.14 b: "Zhou Chen. *Zi:* Shunqing. *Hao:* Dongcun. Learned painting from Chen Xian and added to this the study of the 6 [principles of painting]. In his paintings the finely interwoven as well as the empty and desolate are all aptly expressed. The graceful and elegant were appreciated by his contemporaries." (The expression "the countenances from olden times and strange adornments" is a loan from *Guochao Wujun danqing zhi* – it is not found in Liu Feng's biography of Zhou Chen.)

[15]) Jiang Zhaoshu, *Wusheng shi shi*, ch. 2 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 987): "Zhou Chen. *Zi:* Shunqing. *Hao:* Dongcun. Came from Gusu [i.e. Suzhou]. In his paintings he used the methods of the Song dynasty masters. His pictures of high peaks and mountainous landscapes are quite similar to those by Li Tang. His works in the style of Ma [Yuan] and Xia [Gui] may be equated with those by Dai Jin from the beginning of this dynasty. He, too, was thus a master of the Academic styles. When Tang Yin became famous as a painter and sometimes was too lazy to move the brush, he simply commissioned Zhou Chen to paint in his stead. Thus many of the paintings today transmitted under the name of Tang Yin were executed by Zhou. Those who have [discerning] eyes can distinguish between them."

[16]) Yu Zhaosong, *Shuhua shulu jieti*, ch. 12.9 a.

[17]) Xu Qin, *Ming hualu*, ch. 3 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 1160): "Zhou Chen. *Zi:* Shunqing. *Hao:* Dongcun. From Wu. He learned landscape painting from Chen Xian and transmitted his style. He chose his models from Song painters as Li [Tang?], Guo [Xi], Ma [Yuan] and Xia [Gui]. His brushwork was pure and mature, the professional spirit especially prevalent. He was also skilled in figure painting, with countenances from olden times and strange poses. The finely interwoven as well as the empty and desolate are all aptly expressed." (In *Ming hualu* the surname Li is placed *before* the surname Guo. This order usually indicates the painters Li Cheng and Guo Xi. But as this passage is borrowed from Wang Shizhen, where the order was Guo-Li, Xu Qin was probably just careless when copying,)

[18]) Zhang Chou, *Qinghe shuhuafang*, ch. 12.21 a–24 b. Also recorded in: Wu Sheng, *Daguan lu*, ch. 20.51 a–52 b.

[19]) It seems beyond doubt that Qiu Ying died around 1552: The dated inscriptions by literati on Qiu Ying's paintings form an almost unbroken chain up to around 1552, when they suddenly stop. (Cf. the lists in: Jiang Zhaoshen, "Wen Zhengming nianpu"; Guo Weiqu, *Song Yuan Ming Qing shuhuajia nianbiao;* Xu Bangda, *Lidai liuchuan shuhua zuopin bian nianbiao.*) The last datable work preserved from Qiu Ying's hand is in an album, now in the Freer Gallery. In this album there is a painting by Qiu Ying, done as an illustration to a piece of calligraphy by Peng Nian, dated August 1551. Qiu must have died sometime between this date and 1553, as he is mentioned as dead in Peng Nian's inscription on the painting "Offering of Tribute" from January 1st, 1553. The "Offering of Tribute" is now lost, but there is no reason to discard the information given in this colophone – it is recorded as early as late Ming by the connoisseur Zhang Chou. (Cf. Zhang Chou, *Qinghe shuhuafang*, ch. 12.21 a–24 b.)

[20]) Zhang Quan, *Wuzhong renwu zhi*, ch. 13.25.

[21]) Emperor Tai Hao Fu Xi was a mythological Chinese emperor, traditionally considered the innovator of the 8 diagrams *(bagua).* Cang Jie (historian during the reign of the mythical Yellow Emperor) is traditionally considered the originator of the first characters.

[22]) This is a reference to the well-known story found in *Liezi*, ch. 8, about the great connoisseur of horses – Bole – who, when too old to select horses himself, recommended his colleague Jiufanggao. Jiufanggao returned with a horse which he described as a yellow mare. On examination, it turned out to be a black stallion. However, the qualities of this horse were such that it was unrivalled in all the world. Bole praised him highly, and said: "He grasps the fine while neglecting the coarse. He concentrates on the inner qualities while overlooking the external." Thus the allusion "change black into yellow, and turn a stallion into a mare" is commonly used to describe people who do not concern themselves with external characteristics, but concentrate on essential qualities.

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[23]) I have not found the compound *"feiti"* in any dictionary, but – judged from the context – it seems to refer to something of unstable quality.

[24]) The Palaces of Spring and Autumn, according to *Liji, Yueling pian*, are the palaces in which the emperor dwelled during spring and autumn respectively. (Cf. *Liji zhengyi*, ch. 14.9 b; ch. 17.1 b)

[25]) The expression *"kuigu"* ("cut one's thigh") is relating to a custom of cutting one's own flesh to make a soup to cure some illness.

[26]) Du Qiong was famous for his filial piety.

[27]) Zhu Yunming, *Zhu shi shiwen ji*, ch. 17.3 a–4 a (Vol. 2, p. 1213–1215).

[28]) Li Xu, *Jiean laoren manbi*, ch. 7. 11 a–b.

[29]) For a discussion regarding the Ming Imperial Painting Academy, see H. A. Vanderstappen, "Painters at the Early Ming Court".

[30]) Shang Xi: From Henan. At the Painting Academy c. 1430–40.
Shi Rui: From Qiantang (Zhejiang). At the Painting Academy during the Xuande era.
Ma Shi: From Jiading (Jiangsu). At the Painting Academy during the Xuande era.
Li Zai: From Fujian. At the Painting Academy during the Xuande era.
Zhong Li: From Changshu (Suzhou prefecture). At the Painting Academy during the Chenghua and Hongzhi eras. (He Liangjun is probably wrong when he states that he came from Kuaiji in Zhejiang. Cf. Sun Dagong, *Zhongguo huajia renming da zidian*, p. 964.)
Wang E: At the Painting Academy during Hongzhi.
Zhu Duan: From Haiyan (Zhejiang). At the Painting Academy during Zhengde.

[31]) He Liangjun, *Siyouzhai hualun* (*YSCB*, vol. 12, p. 43).

[32]) The personal name of Chen Yan is written with the character 品 in the epitaph and the character 嚴 in *Huashi huiyao*. The meaning and the pronounciation are, however, the same. The character 品 is rather uncommon, and it is possible that it has been substituted with the more common form 嚴.

[33]) Zhu Mouyan, *Huashi huiyao*, ch. 4, p. 23.
The other well-known Chen Xian-biographies give little, if any, new information:
The Ming-edition of *Wuxian zhi* states that it has taken its information from the *Renwu zhuan* (now lost?) by Wang Zhijian (1576–1633) from Kunshan (Suzhou prefecture). Wang Zhijian has probably taken his information from Zhu Yuming. At least in its present form, this biography merely gives a poor summary of te epitaph. (Niu Ruolin, *Wuxian zhi*, ch. 55.14 b)
Wusheng shi shi offers nothing new – except that it borrows the term "the finely interwoven as well as the empty and desolate" *(mianmi xiaosan)* to describe Chen Xian's style. This term was originally used by Liu Feng to describe Zhou Chen's style. (Jiang Zhaoshu, *Wusheng shi shi*, ch. 2 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 988.)
Ming hualu gives in slightly different wording the same information as *Huashi huiyao*, expect that it does not bother to tell the anecdote of the dream. (Xu Qin, *Ming hualu*, ch. 2 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 1145).)

[34]) Cahill says it was in Nanjing that Chen Xian was presented with belt and cap, but he does not give the source for this information. (Cf. J. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, p. 168.)

[35]) Heinz Frieze, "Zum Aufstieg von Handwerkern ins Beamtentum".

[36]) H. A. Vanderstappen, "Painters at the Early Ming Court".

[37]) A work from 1515 (according to Yu Zhaosong, *Shuhua shulu jieti*, ch. 11.16 b–17 a).

[38]) Quoted in *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu* (1920–ed.), ch. 55.40 b.

[39]) Zhu Mouyan, *Huashi huiyao*, ch. 4.23 a.

[40]) Jiang Zhaoshu, *Wusheng shi shi*, ch. 6 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 1048).

[41]) The painting "A Thatched Hut among Mist-filled Trees", NPM, Taipei, by Wang Fu has the net-patterned texture strokes so typical for Sheng Mao's style. Also the manner of painting branches is reminding of Sheng Mao's art. Wang Fu undoubtedly knew the style of this master – we have even an example of his inscription on a Sheng Mao painting: "Recluse Fishing by Autumn Trees" in the Crawford collection.

[42]) Du Qiong, *Du Dongyuan ji*, p. 95.

[43]) Zheng Chang says that a certain Shen Zhao was a student of Zhou Chen. (Zheng Chang, *Zhongguo huaxue quanshi*, p. 376). I have been unable to find such a relationship mentioned in older sources. *Ming hualu*

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says that Shen Zhao was "skilled in landscape painting, and studied the *da fupi* texture-strokes of Li Tang", but does not mention any relationship to Zhou Chen. (Cf. Xu Qin, *Ming hualu*, ch. 3 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p.1158).)

[44]) Wang Zhideng, *Guochao Wujun danqing zhi* (*HSCS*, vol. 3, p. 1440–1441).

[45]) "Qiu Ying was shortlived, Zhao Mengfu died when he was merely in his sixties..." (Dong Qichang, *Huachanshi suibi*, (*YSCB*, vol. 28, p. 46).) Dong Qichang should have a good knowledge of Qiu Ying's age – as a young man he had been employed as a tutor in the household of Qiu Ying's patron Xiang Yuanbian. (Nelson I. Wu, "Tung Chi'i-ch'ang 1555–1636", p. 270.)

[46]) Wen Zhaotong discusses Qiu Ying's year of birth in connection with the painting "The Peach Bank Garden", a handscroll by the five masters Shen Zhou, Wen Zhengming, Qiu Ying, Tang Yin and Zhou Chen (recorded in Shao Songnian, *Chenglanshi guyuan cuilu*, ch. 3.16 a–19 b). This was a congratulary handscroll given as a birthday present to the owner of the Peach Bank Garden when he was 57 *sui* old. In the same source is recorded another scroll by Shen Zhou and Wen Zhengming made in 1502, when the owner of the garden was 50 *sui* old. (*ibid*, ch. 3.15 b–16 a). We can conclude that the painting by the 5 masters was done in 1509. The scroll consisted of four parts (excluding the colophones): The first part was painted by Shen Zhou, the second by Tang Yin and Qiu Ying in cooperation, the third by Zhou Chen and the fourth by Wen Zhengming. In connection with this scroll, Wen Zhaotong says: "In 1509 Zhou Chen's pupil Qiu Ying should have been a young painter in his teens. If Tang Yin could produce masterpieces at an age of 17, Qiu Ying, whom 'Zhou Chen found extraordinary and taught' should at this time be considered a talented master at the age of 16 *sui*." (Wen Zhaotong, *Mingdai si da huajia*, p. 5–6). Thus, Wen Zhaotong deduces that Qiu Ying must have been born in 1494. But, he does not list any material to support his conclusion that Qiu Ying was in his teens in 1509, not to mention why he should precisely be 16 *sui* old.

[47]) Zheng Wei says that Tang Yin introduced Qiu Ying to Zhou Chen, but I have found no reference to this in old sources. (Zheng Wei, "Lun Ming si jia", p. 206).

[48]) Wang Shizhen, *Yiyuan zhiyan*, ch. 12.13 b.

[49]) Zhang Chou, *Qinghe shuhuafang*, ch. 12.21 a–24 b. Also recorded in Wu Sheng, *Daguan lu*, ch. 20.51 a–52 b.

[50]) Sun Dagong, *Zhongguo ming huajia congshu*, p. 663: "Qiu Ying's social background was that of an ordinary lacquer worker."

[51]) *Fenben*, i.e. chalk-drawing: A kind of rough draft used by ancient artisan painters. The *fenben* were highly treasured and transmitted from generation to generation.

[52]) Wang Shizhen, *Yiyuan zhiyan*, ch. 12.13 b. Mi Fei considered the tracing of a painting as a rather easy task (contrasted with that of copying calligraphy): "In painting, the traced copies can come close to the original, especially in figure paintings and in paintings of horses and cows, while in calligraphy it is difficult to get copies to resemble the original." (Mi Fei, *Shushi* (*YSCB*, vol. 2, p. 47).) "Painting can be traced, calligraphy can be copied, but not traced." (*ibid*, p. 55).

[53]) Wang Zhideng, *Guochao Wujun danqing zhi* (*HSCS*, vol. 3, p. 1440–1441.)

[54]) Yu Jianhua, "Lun Tang Qiu shi Wupai bu shi Yuanpai".

[55]) Jiang Zhaoshen has kindly informed me on this point. Yu Jianhua argues that Qiu Ying was a skilled calligrapher: "It is possible that Qiu Ying has requested others to write the signature on some occasions, but it is impossible that he *always* requested others to do it. Traditions (or rumours) are not necessarily reliable, and Shizhou's writing and painting are completely of the same type, indeed they must issue from one and the same hand. It cannot be compared to the cases where others have been entrusted to 'ghost-write'". (Yu Jianhua, "Lun Tan Qiu shi Wupai bu shi Yuanpai", p. 153) It is somewhat difficult to argue against Yu Jianhua's conclusions, as he does not give any specific examples of which pictures he considers having a signature written by Qiu Ying himself.

Even Jean-Pierre Dubosc argues that Qiu Ying was a skilled calligrapher. Dubosc has in his collection a letter which seems to be from Qiu Ying's hand. The calligraphy of the letter is not outstanding, something admitted by Dubosc. The handwriting of the letter is, according to Dubosc, the same as that of the signature on the fan painting "The Filial Daughter Ts'ao O" in his collection. It is to regret that the quality of the reproduction of the fan is too bad to allow any comparison. From the handstyle of the letter, Dubosc infers that Qiu Ying even

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signed the handscroll "A Donkey for Mr. Zhu: Soliciting Pledges for its Purchase" (Sackler coll.) and the scrolls in the Chion-in coll. These signatures have by Marilyn and Shen Fu been attributed to Wen Jia (Marilyn & Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship*, p. 92–93). Dubosc explains the gap in quality between the handwriting of the letter and that of the signatures as a result of the illness from which Qiu Ying seems to have suffered when he wrote the letter. It is, however, an open question if illness will suffice as an explanation. Also, there is undoubtedly a great likeness between the handwriting of Wen Jia and that of the signatures. (J.-P. Dubosc, "A Letter and a Fan Painting".)

[56]) Xiang *jun* ("The princess of the Xiang River") and Xiang *furen* ("Lady of the Xiang River"): two fairies mentioned in the "Nine Songs" *(Jiuge)* in the *"Songs from Chu" (Chuci).* (Transl.: D. Hawkes, *Ch'u tz'u*, p. 37–39).

[57]) For illustration, see Yonezawa, *Paintings in Chinese Museums: New Collections*, pl. 76 and frontispiece.

This painting is recorded in several old painting catalogues: Gao Shiqi, *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu*, ch. 2.66 (p. 307–308); Gu Wenbin, *Guoyun lou shuhua ji*, ch. 4.29–30 (p. 307–308).

The scroll recorded in Wu Sheng, *Daguan lu*, ch. 20.46 a–b (Vol. 4, p. 2473–2474) seems to be identical with the Peking-version, except for the colophone by Wang Zhideng, which is much shorter and does not mention that the task of colouring was originally assigned to Qiu Ying.

[58]) Wen Zhengming's development as a painter was clearly demonstrated in the exhibition "Ninety Years of Wu School Painting", NPM, Taipei.

[59]) *Shiqu baoji zhengbian*, p. 263.

[60]) *ibid, loc. cit.*

[61]) Painter of the Song dynasty.

[62]) "Elder brother" can be used as a respectful term for relatives of the same generation and even for friends.

[63]) See *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, no 153 (p. 171, 274–277). Recorded in *Gugong shuhua lu*, ch. 4, p. 297–298. (The title of the painting is signed by Wu Kuan, who died in 1504. It is written on a separate piece of paper and must be a later interpolation.)

[64]) *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, no 120 (p. 132–133).

[65]) *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. 1, p. 255.

[66]) Wang Xianzheng was the owner of the famous "Zhuozhengyuan" ("Garden of the Unsuccessful Politician").

[67]) *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, nos 164, 172 (p. 184, 194).

[68]) Zhang Chou, *Qinghe shuhuafang*, ch. 12, part 1, p. 21 a–24 b. Also recorded in Wu Sheng, *Daguan lu*, ch. 20.51 a– 52 b (Vol. 4, p. 2483–2484).

[69]) A brief, but useful survey of the use of collectors' seals is found in Na Zhiliang, *Xiyin tongzhi*, p. 88–117. The seals of Xiang Yuanbian is discussed on p. 100–102.

[70]) Wu Sheng, *Daguan lu*, ch. 20.48 a (Vol. 4, p. 2477).

[71]) *ibid*, ch. 20.63 a (Vol. 4, p. 2507).

[72]) For reproductions, see *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, no 012 (p. 12, 234–235).

[73]) *Gugong shuhua lu*, ch. 6, p. 43–45.

[74]) For reproduction, see *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, no 013 (p. 13). For a detailed description, see *Shiqu baoji zhengbian*, vol. 1, p. 799. There is another version of this composition in the Freer Gallery, Washington (mentioned in Jiang Zhaoshen, "Wen Zhengming nianpu") and a copy of poorer quality in the Shanghai Museum.

In *Daguan lu* we find a record of a painting with the same title and the same inscription, also written by Xiang Yuanbian. The entry says: "Painting with plum and narcissus: Paper. – Medium size. Depicts branches of wax-plum *(chimonanthus fragrans)* and three stalks of narcissus, interspersed with pine and bamboo. It is beautifully arranged and has a fluctuating rhythm. It is a painting symbolizing the cold winter. It has grasped the life-like qualities in a prodiguous manner. The regular script is written by Mr. Xiang." (Wu Sheng, *Daguan lu*, ch. 20.62 b (Vol. 4, p. 2506).) Thus, the *Daguan lu* version is on paper, while the NPM version is on silk. The motif is also somewhat different. Did Qiu Ying paint two versions of the same painting during the same month for Xiang Yuanbian?

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[75]) *Traditional and Contemporary Painting in China, p. 49.*

[76]) Gao Shiqi, *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu*, ch. 3.60 a (p. 429).

[77]) Recorded in *Gugong shuhua lu*, ch. 4, p. 183–184.

The expression is "200 [pieces of] gold". Since the character for gold – *jin* – is often used as a general term for all kind of metals, and silver, not gold, was the standard of value during middle Ming, I assume that the price must have been 200 pieces of silver. In any case the price must be considered very high for a contemporary painting. We can further be assured that Xiang Yuanbian paid no over-price. Xiang was known as a miser among his contemporaries. Ch'en Chih-mai has characterized his personality: "Imbued with the taste of a wealthy scholar for *objets d'art* and aided by the acumen of a pawnbroker in evaluation and authentication, Hsiang occupied a position almost without parallel among the art collectors of China. "(*Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. 1, p. 541).

[78]) *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. 1, p. 256.

We have also preserved a painting by Qiu Ying, made on request for Zhou Fenglai, and with an inscription by Wen Zhengming. This painting is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art. (R. Edwards, *The Art of Wen Cheng-ming*, p. 144).

[79]) Zhang Chou, *Qinghe shuhuafang*, ch. 12, part 1, p. 19 a.

[80]) Wen Jia, *Qianshantang shuhua ji* (YSCB, vol. 17, p. 63). Zhang Chou, *Qinghe shuhuafang*, ch. 7.33 b.

[81]) Fu Xi, "Zhongguo banhua yanjiu zhongyao shumu", 6 a, 13 b.

[82]) Regarding Tang Yin's biography, see: Jiang Zhaoshen, "Guanyu Tang Yin de yanjiu"; W. Speiser, "T'ang Yin"; Yü-ho Tseng, "Notes on T'ang Yin"; T. C. Lai, *T'ang Yin: Poet/Painter 1470–1524.*

[83]) Wang Zhideng, *Guochao wujun danqing zhi* (*HSCS*, vol. 3, p. 437).

[84]) A. Clapp, *Wen Cheng-ming*, p. 4–5.

[85]) There is one genre in which Shen Zhou might have left a lasting influence on Tang Yin's art: the genre of ink flower paintings. While this genre flourished in the late middle Ming period, with Chen Shun and Xu Wei as its most famous representatives, there were few outstanding artists who practiced it in the earlier part of the dynasty. However, Shen Zhou did some very fine works in the genre, e.g. the album "Paintings from Nature", NPM, Taipei. This album is dated 1494, i.e. from a period when Tang Yin had still close contacts with the older generation of the Suzhou literati. Tang Yin's works in this genre are of a much later origin. Mostly they date from the last years of the artist's life (after the death of Shen Zhou). They are also slightly different from Shen Zhou's style, though e.g. the hibiscus in the hanging scroll "Hibiscus by Water", NPM, Taipei, resembles Shen Zhou's style in bruswork as well as in its use of ink tones. *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, no 098 (p. 108).

[86]) Jiang Zhaoshu, *Wusheng shi shi*, ch. 2 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 987).

[87]) Tao Liang, *Hongdou shuguan shuhua ji*, ch. 6.34.

There is a hanging scroll by Zhou Chen – "Taoist Immortal with Toad", which has an inscription by Tang Yin on the *shitang*. (*Shitang* is the part of the mounting above the painting used for inscriptions) Here Tang Yin has signed himself: "The disciple Tang Yin". Whether or not the inscription was written for the Zhou Chen painting is not important in this connection, since the term "disciple" (or "adherent") – *dizi* – is commonly used as an affix to personal names on religious pictures to express the writer's relationship to the religion.

[88]) Jiang Zhaoshen, "Guanyu Tang Yin de yanjiu", 4, p. 42–43.

[89]) Jiang Zhaoshu, *Wusheng shi shi*, ch. 2 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 987).

[90]) Xia Wenyan et al., *Tuhui baojian xubian*, ch. 6 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 836).

[91]) Jiang Zhaoshen, "Guanyu Tang Yin de yanjiu", 4, p. 28–30.

[92]) A. Clapp, *Wen Cheng-ming*, p. 43–54; J. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, p. 204–205.

[93]) Gu Fu, *Pingsheng zhuangguan*, ch. 10 (Vol. 4, p. 69).

[94]) *Shiqu baoji sanbian*, vol. 4, p. 1809.

[95]) *Shiqu baoji xubian*, vol. 6, p. 3267.

[96]) For the biography of Zhang Quan, cf. Zhang Fengyi, *Changzhouxian zhi*, ch. 14.29 a.

[97]) Tang Yin, *Tang Bohu xiansheng quanji*, vol. 1, p. 334–335 (quoting Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou sanren sibu xugao*).

[98]) Propably a reference to the famous anecdote about Gu Kaizhi who enclosed his paintings in a sealed

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coffer and entrusted them to Huan Xuan – the most powerful politician of that period. Huan Xuan removed the paintings without damaging the seal. When the coffer was returned to Gu Kaizhi, it was empty. Gu Kaizhi remarked without surprise that his paintings must have gone through a spiritual transformation like that of a Taoist immortal and thus disappeared. The cryptic remark made by Wang Shizhen makes me wonder if the Zhang Zhun portrait was given French leave by Yan Song.

[99]) "The Western Garden" *(Xiyuan)* was a garden where famous literati of the Song dynasty, the circle around Su Shi, once met. The garden is depicted in several paintings.

[100]) Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu gao, Huaba*, ch. 138. 11 a–b.

[101]) Gu Dehui was a famous collector and patron of arts of the late Yuan dynasty. The painter Ni Zan was also famous for his collections.

[102]) Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu xugao*, ch. 169.

[103]) Suzhou belonged to the Southern Metropolitan Area. This meant that there was no provincial government – the whole area was governed directly from the Auxiliary Capital in Nanjing.

[104]) Yan Song served in the Nanjing Ministry of Personnel during two periods, first as a Vice-Minister of the Left, later as a *shangshu:* On Nov. 9th, 1531, Yan Song was removed from his position as a Vice-minister of the Left in the Nanjing Ministry of Rites and given a position of the same rank in the Nanjing Ministry of Personnel (*Ming shilu*, Shizong, ch. 131. 1 a (Vol. 77, p. 3103).) Not two months later, on Jan. 3rd, 1532, Yan Song was among those recommended for the vacant position as the *shangshu* of the Nanjing Ministry of Rites. At that time, the emperor opposed all the candidates, judging them too young. (Yan Song was then 31 years old.) (Cf. *Ming shilu*, Shizong, ch. 132. 9 a–b (Vol. 77, p. 3139–3140).) Despite this objection, Yan Song received the position. I have been unable to find the date and the more detailed circumstances regarding Yan Song's promotion to this position as the head of the Nanjing Ministry of Rites. It must have been sometime between this date and Nov. 13th, 1532, when he is mentioned in *Ming shilu* as the *shangshu* of the Nanjing Ministry of Rites. (*Ming shilu*, Shizong, ch. 143.8 a (Vol. 78, p. 3335).) The duration of Yan Song's tenure as a Vice-Minister of the Left in the Nanjing Ministry of Personnel was thus a maximum of one year.

On July 1st, 1533, Yan Song was transferred from his position in the Ministry of Rites and became the *shangshu* in the Ministry of Personnel. (*Ming shilu*, Shizong, ch. 151.2 a (Vol. 78, p. 3447).) He was then in charge of the Nanjing Ministry of Personnel until May 20th, 1536, when he was transferred to Peking. (*Ming shilu*, Shizong, ch. 187.2 b (Vol. 79, p. 3952).)

[105]) J. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, p. 129.

[106]) *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. 1, p. 405.

[107]) *ibid*, vol. 1, p. 868.

[108]) The inventory of the paintings and calligraphy in the Yan-collection was made by Wen Jia in 1565. The complete catalogue of the Yan-family's possessions was printed in 1786 on the basis of an old manuscript with the title "*Tianshui bingshan lu*". Excerpts from this catalogue have been published in other sources, as in Wang Luoyu, *Shanhu wang*, ch. 23 (p. 1340–1359) and *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu* (1969-ed.), ch. 99.9 b–21 b (Vol. 4, p. 2394–2405). Yu Zhaosong says in *Shuhua shulu jieti*, ch. 6.15 b that the list in *Peiwenzhai* is the list of the collections of another family by the surname Yan. This must be wrong: The list in *Peiwenzhai* is almost identical with the list in *Shanhu wang*, which is titled "Paintings belonging to Mr. Yan from Fenyi" and signed by Wen Jia. (Yan Song came from Fenyi in Zhejiang). Besides, a comparison between the titles of the paintings makes it clear that this is the same collection as the one recorded in *Tianshui bingshan lu*.

Wen Jia, who had been in a hurry when he made the official inventory and therefore considered it unsatisfactory, edited in 1568 a selective catalogue, annotated with short commentaries: *Qianshantang shuhua ji*. This catalogue does not record any paintings by Zhou Chen.

[109]) *Tianshui bingshan lu* records the following paintings by Zhou Chen:

p. 210 b: Copies after Sheng Mao's "The Four Seasons" and figure paintings (13 hanging scrolls).

"Ceasing to play the *Qin*-lute in order to listen to the *Ruan*-mandolin" (1 hanging scroll).

p. 214 a: Landscapes of the four seasons (4 hanging scrolls).

"The Four Invitations" (4 hanging scrolls).

[110]) Mountain in Shaanxi. One of China's five sacred mountains.

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[111]) Zhong Zigi was a friend of the famous musician Bo Ya of the Period of the Spring and Autumn Annals. When Zhong Ziqi died, Bo Ya broke the strings of his lute, saying that thereafter no man could ever understand his music.

[112]) Gu Lin, *Gu Huayu ji*, ch. 8.15 a (Vol. 8, p. 3567).

PAINTINGS with CATALOGUE

[1]) R. Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, p. 19.

[2]) Li E, *Nansong yuanhua lu*, ch. 2 (*HSCS*, vol. 3, p. 7); Li Chengsou, *Shanshui jue*, ch. Fanshuo (transl. Sirén, *C. P.*, 2, p. 92–93).

[3]) The problems connected with the authenticity of the paintings attributed to Li Tang have recently been discussed in the following articles: R. Edwards, "The Landscape Art of Li T'ang"; Suzuki Kei, "Hsia Kuei and the Academic Style in Southern Song"; R. Barnhart, "Li T'ang (c. 1050–c. 1130) and the Koto-in Landscapes".

[4]) R. Edwards, "The Yen Family and the Influence of Li T'ang ".

[4a]) Zhang Xunli's original name was Zhang Dunli. He changed his name when the character Dun was tabooed after the death of Song Guangzong. He should not be mixed up with the painter Zhang Dunli of the Northern Song period.

[6]) M. Loehr, *The Great Painters*, p. 199.

[7]) *HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 777, 778, 789, 791, 821.

[8]) Reprod.: *Songren huace*, pl. 73. Formerly attributed Xiao Zhao, by the editors of *Songren huace* dated as late Southern Song..

[9]) Reprod.: *ibid*, vol. 2, pl. 49–50.

[10]) Reprod.: *ibid*, vol. 2, pl. 52.

[11]) Edwards records a copy after this album leaf, now in the Freer Gallery, probably done during Ming and bearing the seal of Tang Yin. This might be copy by Tang Yin. (R. Edwards, "The Yen Family", p. 81, note 10).

[12]) M. Loehr, *The Great Painters of China*, p. 272.

[13]) Cf. "Meditating on Clouds", NPM, Taipei, (pl. 11b) (attributed to Li Tang), "Mansions in the Mountains", NPM, Taipei, by Xiao Zhao, and the anonymous "A Boat moored by an Autumn River", reproduced in *Songren huace*, pl. 17.

[14]) The whereabouts of "Enjoying a Secluded Life" is unknown. On the other hand, the museums in China may possess some unpublished hanging scrolls in the Li Tang mode. The number of paintings preserved is thus highly tentative.

[15]) J. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, p. 52.

[16]) Jiang Zhaoshen, "Guanyu Tang Yin de yanjiu", 4, p. 47–48.

[17]) *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, p. 301.

[18]) See e. g. the inscriptions by Wu Kuan and Shao Bao on "Painting of the Nine Old Men" (*Nansong yuanhua lu*, ch. 4 (*HSCS*,vol. 3, p. 1680), quoting Feng Fang, *Hua shi Zhenshangzhai fu zhu*); Du Qiong's inscription on "Listening to the *qin*" (*ibid*, p. 1686, quoting Zhu Zunli, *Tiewang shanhu)*; Zhu Yunming's inscription on a painting in his family's collection (*ibid*, p. 1690–1691, quoting *Zhu Jingzhao ji)*; Wen Zhengming's inscription from 1520 on painting of the Bian Bridge" (*ibid*, p. 1687, quoting Wang Luoyu, *Shanhuwang*).

[19]) *Xuanhe huapu*, ch. 13 (*HSCS*, vol. 1, p. 517).

[20]) Li E, *Nansong yuanhua lu*, ch. 2 (*HSCS*, vol. 3, p. 1611).

[21]) *ibid, loc. cit.*

[22]) *ibid*, ch. 2 (*HSCS*, vol. 3, p. 1613–1617, 1619, 1621–1623).

[23]) Sirén, *C. P.*, 2: Annotated List, p. 62–63.

[24]) Li E, *Nonsong yuanhua lu*, ch. 2 (*HSCS, vol. 3, p. 1642).*

[25]) Reprod. (*inter alia*): *Yiyuan duoying*, No 5 (1979), p. 4–7; *Nanjing bowuyuan canghua ji*, vol. 1, pl. 1–4.

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[26]) The lack of strength in the drawing of contour lines and the somewhat monotonous distribution of *taidian* have made some connoisseurs question the authenticity of this painting.

[27]) *Xuanhe huapu*, ch. 11 (*HSCS*, vol. 1, p. 499).

[28]) The painting is recorded in *Tiewang shanhu*, allegedly written by Du Mu. This does not, however, prove that the painting was in Jiangnan during middle Ming, as Du Mu probably wrote only ch. 5 of this work (according to *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, ch. 113. 417 a).

[29]) Zifan probably misprint for Zijing, the *zi* of Xiang Yuanbian.

[30]) Liang Zhangju, *Tuian jinshi shuhua ba*, ch. 11 (p. 709–710).

[31]) The Ma-Xia mode is named after the Southern Song Academy painters Ma Yuan and Xia Gui. They developed a new, more lyrical landscape style based on a very characteristic structural pattern: A few elements close to the viewer were placed in focus, and contrasted with a limitless, mist-enveloped background. It was this kind of simplified composition which won Ma Yuan and Xia Gui the nick-names "One-corner Ma" and "One-edge Xia". The brushwork of this style is bold, with a frequent use of *da fupi cun* ("big axecut strokes") in the cliffs, contrasted to the soft washes used in the distant, mist-shrouded parts.

[32]) The Li-Guo mode is named after Li Cheng and Guo Xi — two painters of the Northern Song, famous for their depictions of barren landscapes with old trees.

[33]) J. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore, p. 49.*

[34]) *ibid*, p. 98–100.

[35]) Wang Zhideng, *Guochao Wujun danqing zhi (HSCS*, vol. 3, p. 1441).)

[36]) There is another man of this *zi* — namely Huang Shan (*jinshi* 1484), but he does not seem to have any connections with the Jiangnan area. (*Guochao xianzheng lu*, ch. 99. 136a–137b (Vol. 7, p. 4440.)

[37]) *Suzhou fu zhi* mentions that he was just capped (i.e. 20 years old) when he had passed the *jinshi* examination and worked as an official in Guangdong. (Li Mingwan, *Suzhou fu zhi*, ch. 104. 17b (Vol. 5, p.2472).)

[38]) *ibid, loc. cit.*

[39]) Cf. Wu Wei's "Fishing from a River Bank", coll. unknown, reprod. in J. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, pl. 46.

[40]) Guo Shichang et al., *Wuchengxian zhi*, ch. 2. 316 (quoting *Wuchengxian zhi* from the Chongzheng era of late Ming).

[41]) Dong Tiangong, *Wuyishan zhi*, vol. 1, p. 279–281.

[42]) Tang Yin's "Dongfang Shuo" is reproduced in *Tang Liuru huaji*, pl. 15.

[43]) [Matteo Ricci] China in the 16th Century, p. 25.

[44]) John Hay, "Chinese Fan Painting", p. 116, note 49.

[45]) *ibid*, p. 116, note 51.

[46]) George Sansom, *A History of Japan 1334–1615*, p. 167–177.

[47]) *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, cat. no 032.

[48]) *ibid*, cat. nos 037, 039, 040.

[49]) *Zauber des chinesischer Fächers*, p. 47.

[50]) We find this structure e.g. in Tang Yin's "Travellers in Autumn Mountains", (reprod.: *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, cat. no 053) and Zhou Chen's "Ferry on the River" (pl. 57).

[51]) *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, cat. no 054, 063, 081.

[52]) Jiang Song, "An Old Tree at a Stream", Shanghai Museum, hitherto unpublished.

[53]) E.g.: "River Landscape in Haze", NPM, Taipei, and "Three Men in a Boat", Palace Museum, Peking (reprod.: Sirén, *C. P., 6, pl. 92–93).*

[54]) *Reprod. (inter alia)*: Siren, *C. P.*, 6, pl. 166; J. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, pl. 54.

[55]) He also seems to have known the Academy gossip — he once narrated the story of how the court painter Xie Huan talked the Xuande emperor into not letting Dai Jin join the Academy: "Zhou Dongcun from Suzhou said: 'Once Xuanzong [i.e. the Xuande emperor] asked Xie: There is also this Dai Wenjin — I have heard that he paints very well. [Xie Huan] answered: That is *xiucai* painting [*xiucai* was the lowest degree in state examinations], lacking in refinement. It is indeed amateur painting. Thereupon, Dai Jin failed in entering the *Academy.*'" *(Li Xu, Jiean laoren manbi*, ch. 1. 16 a).

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[56]) J. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore, p. 51.*

[57]) Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu gao: Huaba*, ch. 138. 11b–12a. Not surprisingly, also Tang Yin has painted this motif (Tang Yin, *Tang Bohu quanji*, vol. 2, p. 395–396). One version signed with Tang Yin's name is in the collections of Chongqing Museum (reprod. in *Yiyuan duoying*, No 7 (1980), p. 24–28), but the brushwork seems to be stiffer and more mechanical than that of Tang Yin.

[58]) *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu* (1969-ed.) vol. 4, p. 2415 (quoting Zhan Jinfeng, *Dongtu xuanlan).*

[59]) Zhou Chen also made a version of this motif in the hanging scroll format, dated 1532, whose seals were recorded by Victoria Contag and Wang Chi-ch'üan.

[60]) *Tianshui bingshan lu*, p. 210b–214a.

[61]) The hanging scroll "Playing Chess in a Riverside Landscape", attributed to Li Tang in Harada, *Shina meiga hōkan*, pl. 120, is reminding of Zhou Chen's style. The motif as well as the brushwork are similar to what we have found in his oeuvre. The painting is undoubtedly made during middle Ming. The style is so typical Ming and so different from Song, however, that it seems doubtful that it is based on any prototype by Li Tang.

[62]) J. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, pl. 16.

[63]) Chen Hengque, *Zhongguo huihua shi*, p. 36b–37b.

[64]) Yu Zhaosong, *Shuhua shulu jieti*, ch. 1. 33a–b.

[65]) I have been unable to investigate the question whether Nakamura—Kojika were the first art historians in Japan to single out these painters.

[66]) Nakamura & Kojika, p. 101.

[67]) *ibid*, p. 104.

[68]) *ibid*, p. 101. (The term "Southern School" is mostly used to designate literati paintings, while professional paintings are mostly classified as belonging to the "Northern School". For a discussion of these terms, see S. Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, p. 158–172.)

[69]) The difference between the terms *qinglü* and *jinbi* ("Gold and green jade") is somewhat diffuse. Some writers have maintained that *qinglü* and *jinbi* are identical in meaning, designating landscape painting with heavy colouring in blues and greens. Tang Zhiqi of the Ming dynasty says: "In Academy painting, we have the genre of *jinbi* landscape. The genre existed as early as in the Xuanhe era [of the Song dynasty]. Did not *Hanshu* [the official history of the Western Han dynasty] mention the atmosphere of gold and green jade with no trace of sand and earth? Thus, *jinbi* meant mineral blues and greens, and was a term for blue and green landscapes. Posterity did not investigate the matter. Mistaken, they added strokes of gold to *qinglü* landscapes. This they called "landscapes with golden brushstrokes" *(jinbi shanshui)* 金筆山水. It is patently ridiculous to change the term from "gold and green jade" to "golden brushstrokes" and ridiculous to the extreme to equate elegant and sophisticated activities with artisans' drawings in gold!..." (Yu Zhaosong, *Huafa yaolu*, P. I: ch. 8. 2a–b, quoting Tang Zhiqi, *Huishi weiyan*) (The compound *"jinbi"* is not listed in the *Harvard-Yenching Institute Index to Hanshu*. Tang Zhiqi's allusion corresponds, however, to a poem by Du Fu — "The Mupi Peak" — where the poet describes the Western Cliff of the Mupi Mt. with the following words: "... Rich, with the spirit of sand and earth, it recalls paintings of the Kunlun Mountains [holy mountains in Western China]". (Du Fu, *Qian zhu Du shi*, ch. 3 (Vol. 1, 107–108).)

A more common opinon is that *jinbi* landscapes includes brushwork in gold. Qian Du (of the Qing-dynasty) explains: "When one is colouring mountains and stones with washes in mineral blues and greens, and the layers become too numerous, the outlines and the streaks in the stones can not be clearly seen, but become muddy and stiff, lacking in vigour. This is why the ancients used gold in the outlines." (Yu Zhaosong, *Huafa yaolu*, P. I: ch. 8. 2b).

The confused usage of the term makes it difficult to differentiate between the artists who in written sources have been characterized as *qinglü* and *jinbi* landscape painters. In any case, the tendency seems to have been to use the term *jinbi* for the decorative and *gongbi* type of landscape.

[70]) Sirén, *C. P.*, p.121.

[71]) Susan Bush says that the term Yuanti was already used by Chen Hengque (S. Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, p. 176–177), but I have found no such use of the term in his work. Chen Hengque seems to have used the term in its original meaning (i.e. any style practiced at the imperial painting academy) — when he discusses

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the Li-Liu tradition, he uses the heading "One of the Academic (Yuanti) styles" (as do Nakamura and Kojika). (Chen Hengque, *Zhongguo huihua shi*, p. 36b)

[72]) Pan Tianshou, *Zhongguo huihua shi*, p. 166–167.

[73]) S. Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, p. 177.

[74]) Zheng Chang, *Zhongguo huaxue quanshi*, p. 376.

[75]) Yu Jianhua, *Zhongguo huihua quanshi*, p. 376.

[76]) idem, "Lun Tang Qiu shi Wupai bu shi Yuanpai", p. 144.

[77]) Yonezawa, *Painting in the Ming Dynasty*, p. 11–13.

[78]) Cf. Xia Wenyan et al., *Tuhui baojian*, ch. 4 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 780) regarding Chen Jue; *ibid*, ch. 5 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 799) regarding the relationship between Zhao Mengfu and Chen Lin; and *ibid*, ch. 5 (*HSCS*, vol. 2, p. 805) regarding the relationship between Chen Lin and Sheng Mao.

[79]) Sirén, *C. P.*,4, p. 193–216.

[80]) J. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, p. 167–210.

[81]) *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, cat. no 101.

[82]) J. M. Crawford, *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting*, pl. 39.

[83]) Jiang Zhaoshen, "Guanyu Tang Yin de yanjiu", 4, p. 57–58.

[84]) *Tang Liuru huaji*, pl. 2.

[85]) *ibid*, pl. 4.

[86]) *ibid*, pl. 8.

[87]) *ibid*, pl. 23.

[88]) *ibid*, pl. 24.

[89]) *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, cat. no 088 (p. 96–97, 244–247).

[90]) *ibid*, cat. 052.

[91]) *Tang Liuru huaji*, pl. 10.

[92]) M. Loehr, *The Great Painters*, p. 286.

[93]) J. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, p. 202.

[94]) Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship*, p. 91.

[95]) M. Schapiro, "Style", p. 294.

[96]) *Lunyu yizhu*, 2.12 (p. 19).

[97]) A. Clapp, *Wen Cheng-ming*, p. 93.

[98]) T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 48–49.

[99]) Xie Fangde, Qianjia shi, ch. 1.14a.

[100]) Shen Zhou, *Shen Shitian xiansheng shiwenji*, ch. 16.8a.

[101]) Gu Lin, *Gu Huayu ji*, ch. 29.13b–14a (p. 4130–4131).

[102]) *Chuci jizhu*, p. 21; Hawkes' transl., p. 32.

[103]) *Huainan zi*, ch. 9.4a.

[104]) *ibid., loc. cit*,

[105]) Wang Ji, *Shiwu yanhui*, ch. 33.5b–6a.

[106]) See e.g. Wen Zhengming's version in the NPM, Taipei (*Wupaihua jiushi nian*, cat. no 126) and Wen Jia's version in Frank Caro's coll. (Reproduced in Sirén, *C.P.*, 6, pl. 216).

[107]) Gong Kai, "Zhongshan chuyou tu", Freer Gallery, reproduced (*inter alia*): Sirén, *C.P.*, 3, pl. 323–324. Yen Hui, "The Lantern Night Excursion of Zhong Kui", Cleveland, reprod.: *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, p. 111–112.

[108]) Boxer, *South China*, p. 294.

[109]) *ibid*, p. 118.

[110]) Niu Ruolin, *Wuxian zhi*, ch. 11.16a–27b.

[111]) Shen Qi et al., *Wujiang zhi*, ch. 28.3a.

[112]) T'ung-tsu Ch'ü, "Chinese Class Structure and its Ideology", p. 249.

[113]) *Songshi*, ch. 321.18a–21a (Vol. 5, p. 4089–4091).

[114]) Cf. the painting by Zhou Qichang from 1184 in Boston Museum, discussed by Wen Fong in his *The-*

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Lohans and a Bridge to Heaven.

[115]) Suzuki, *Chinese Art in Western Collections*, vol. 2, p. 219–220.

[116]) *Zhuangzi*, ch. 1.1a.

[117]) Ji Kang was one of the "Seven Wise of the Bamboo Grove" of the Wei-Jin period.

[118]) *Zhuangzi*, ch. 1.1a.

[119]) *Eight Centuries of Chinese Painting*, p. 193.

[120]) R.J. Maeda, "The 'Water' Theme".

[121]) Jiang Zhaoshen, "Wen Zhengming nianpu", 1, p. 63.

[122]) *Gugong renwuhua xuancui*, pl. 33.

[123]) See e.g. a screen with a fish jumping above the waterfalls, used as a motif on Ming "blue-and-white" porcelain. (R. Dawson, *Imperial China*, fig. 10A).

[124]) Gao Di: From Mianzhou. *Jinshi* 1514. Held office in Changzhou (Suzhou) for a period after his examination. (*Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, vol. 1, p. 390).

[125]) Gu Kexue: From Wuxi. *Jinshi* 1505. Died 1560. Introduced to the Jiajing emperor as one who knew the secrets of longevity and obtained thus imperial favour. (*Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, vol. 2, p. 950).

[126]) J. Cahill, "T'ang Yin or Chou Ch'en", note 4.

[127]) *idem*, *Chinese Painting*, p. 138–139.

[128]) A version in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, includes six figures not found in the scrolls in Cleveland and Honolulu. It seems therefore possible that the original album may have been cut up and divided in more than two parts, with at least six figures now missing. (*Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, p. 195).

[129]) Sherman E. Lee, "Literati and Professionals", p. 2–25.

[130]) Zheng Guobin: From Lanxi in Zhejiang. *Jinshi* 1551. Used a.o. the *hao* Woyun.

[131]) Huang Jishui (1509–71): Literatus from Suzhou. Member of the Suzhou-circle of literati.

[132]) Liu Jin — favourite eunuch of the Zhengde emperor. Leader of the eunuch clique known as "The eight tigers" (*Bahu*). He lost imperial favour in 1510 and was executed by imperial decree. (*Mingshi*, ch. 304.20b–28a (Vol. 5, p. 3356–3359).)

Qian Ning — favourite of the Zhengde emperor. Introduced to the emperor by Liu Jin. After the death of the latter, he came on very intimate terms with the emperor. He won the emperor's favour by introducing song-girls, magicians, etc. to him. (*Mingshi*, ch. 307.17b–19a (Vol. 5, p. 3408–3409).)

Jiang Bin was a soldier who had fought bravely against bandits in Datong. He became a favourite of the Zhengde emperor, and the two of them amused themselves drilling troops called in from the northern frontier. Both Qian Ning and Jiang Bin were decapitated immediately after the death of the Zhengde emperor. They had then become symbols of the corruption and debauchery at court. (*Mingshi*, ch. 307.12a–18a (Vol. 5, p. 3405–3408).)

[133]) See Zheng Xia's biography in the official history of the Song dynasty (*Songshi*, ch. 321.18a–21a (Vol. 5, p. 4089–4091).)

[134]) The names Zhishan and Lingxu are not among the recorded alternative names of Huang Jishui and Zhang Fengyi, but there can be no doubt that these are the men alluded to.

[135]) Zheng Zia held for a while the office as the Guard of the Anshang Gate in the capital. (*Jiankang zhi*, ch. 48).

[136]) Seal belonging to Zhou Lian from Songjiang in Jiangsu (19th century)? (Zhou Lian recorded in *Zhongguo lidai shu-, hua- zhuankejia zihao suoyin*, p. 98.).

[137]) Zhong Kui was from Zhongnanshan in Shaanxi (near Xi'an), sometimes abbreviated to Zhongshan or Nanshan. Both of these abbreviations have been used as sobriquets for Zhong Kui.

[138]) According to vernacular tradition, Zhong Kui's body was buried by his friend Du Ping. In gratitude towards Du Ping, the demon-queller returned home with his demon-following to marry off his sister to Du. "*Zhong Kui Marrying off his Sister*" (*Zhong Kui jia mei*) is an old and very well-known opera.

[139]) Yang Guifei — the famous concubine of emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty — captivated the interest of the emperor when she was bathing in the Huaqing Pool in the palace of the same name (in the outskirts of Xi'an).

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[140]) *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, cat. no 094.

[141]) *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, p. 193.

[142]) Reprod.: *Shina nanga taisei*, vol. 9, pl. 35 (right).

[143]) Reprod.: *Yishu congbian*, vol. 12.

[144]) A. Clapp, *Wen Cheng-ming*, p. 48.

[145]) See e.g.: Wen Zhengming "Landscape" (Reprod.: *Wupaihua jiushi nian*, cat. no 159) and "The Red Cliff" (Reprod.: *ibid.*, cat. no 161), both in the NPM, Taipei.

[146]) See e.g.: Wen Zhengming's "Spring Trees after Rain" (*Wupaihua jiushi nian*, cat. no 005) and "Tall Trees and a Marshy Bank" (*ibid*, cat. no 015), both in the NPM, Taipei.

[147]) See e.g.: "Watching the Waterfall from a Pine-shaded Pavilion", NPM, Taipei (*Wupaihua jiushi nian*, cat. no 010) and "Discussing Painting below Pines", Kirin Museum (Reprod.: *Yiyuan duoying*, No 6 (1979), p. 21), both by Qiu Ying.

[148]) Zhuchen was the name of a village in Feng *xian* in Jiangsu. All the inhabitants were of the surnames Zhu and Chen and interrelated through marriage. The village was made famous by Bo Juyi's poem *Zhuchen cun* (*Bo Juyi ji*, ch. 10 (Vol. 1, p. 184).)

[149]) *Zhuangzi*, 19 (ch. 7.5b); *Zhanguo ce*, ch. 8.8b; *Shiji*, ch. 101.5a; *Huainan zi*, ch. 18.13b.

[150]) *Zhanguo ce*, ch. 8.8b. Also recorded in *Shiji*, ch. 69.10a.

[151]) Chen Yi, *Douji pian* in his *Juxu ji*, ch. 1.3a (p. 107).

[152]) *Maoshi*, ch. 8 (Transl.: J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, p. 226–233; A. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, p. 164–167).

[153]) It was thanks to Jiang Zhaoshen I became aware of this work being a *jiebiao*.

[154]) Yuan An was an upright official, known for his great integrity, living during the Eastern Han dynasty. Once before he had become an official, he was discovered resting in the snow while the rest of the population in Luoyang were out begging for food after a heavy snowfall. The story has come to symbolize the man who keeps his integrity during the cold of winter.

[155]) Once, when Wang Huizhi (the son of the calligrapher Wang Xizhi) lived in Shanyin (Zhejiang), he woke up in a snowy night and boarded a small boat to visit his friend Dai Kui, who lived at the Chan river. When he arrived at the gate of Dai's home, he did not enter, but returned home. When asked about the reason, he answered: "I went on a moment's inclination. The inclination disappeared and I returned. Why should I see Dai?" (*Shishuo xinyu, Xueye fang Dai pian*).

[156]) The Jiuqu area was famous for its *cha*-trees.

[157]) The Tiantai Mts.: Famous mountain range in Zhejiang.
The Yandang Mts.: Part of the Guacang Mts., south of the Tiantai Mts.

[158]) This is a reference to two odes from the *Xiaoya* part of *Shijing*: "*Huanghuang zhe hua*" (*An Ode appropriate to the Despatch of an Envoy*) and "*Si mou*" (*An Ode complimentary to an Envoy on his Return from an Expedition*) (transl.: J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, p. 247–250).

[159]) A reference to *Lunyu* (*The Analects*): "Tien [Dian] then said, 'In all this, the last month of spring, with the dress of the season all complete, along with five or six young men who have assumed the cap, and six or seven boys, I would wash in the I [Yi], enjoy the breeze among the rain altars, and return home singing.'" (Transl.: J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 248–249).

[160]) This must be an allusion to *Mencius*, ch. 7: "That he can get from the whole kingdom the most talented individuals and teach and nourish them, this is his third delight." (transl.: J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, p. 458–459).

[161]) A reference to the saying about the historian Sima Qian: "He went to the famous mountains and great rivers, and his style acquired an extraordinary flavour."

[162]) This is probably an allusion to Fan Can (*zi*: Chengming) of the Period of the Three Kingdoms. When King Fang of Qi was dismissed, Fan Can took leave of him wearing mourning clothes. Later, when Fan Can was called to office, he feigned madness and did not speak. He stayed in his coach for 36 years until his death. (*Jinshi*, ch. 94.10a–11a (Vol. 2, p. 1588–1589).)

[163]) The temple is mentioned by the following travellers of the Yuan dynasty: The monk Zhongzi (Dong

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Tiangong, *Wuyishan zhi*, vol. 1, p. 417), Liu Yue (*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 418) and Lin Fang (*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 418).

[164]) "The Shengzhen temple was situated on the lower peak of the Dawang Mt. It was built during the Xianchun era of the Song dynasty [1265–74], but is now abandoned." (Dong Tiangong, *Wuyishan zhi*, vol. 1, p. 410).

[165]) Dong Tiangong, *Wuyishan zhi*, vol. 1, p. 479.

[166]) *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 484.

[167]) *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 581–583.

[168]) Bian Yongyu, *Shigu tang*, ch. 24 (Vol. 4, p. 374–380).

[169]) Wang Shizhen et al., *Liexian quanzhuan*, ch. 8.3a.

[170]) Dong Tiangong, *Wuyishan zhi*, vol. 1, p. 120.

[171]) T. Lawton, "Scholar and Servants", p. 8.

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Abbreviations

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SBBY = *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 Repr. Taipei.

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LIST OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

Anshang Gate 安上門
bagua 八卦
baguwen 八股文
Bahu 八虎
baimiao 白描
bajiao 八檐
banbo 般磚
bangbo 磅礴
Binya 幽雅
Bo Yuchan 白玉蟾
Bole 伯樂
Boya 伯牙
Cai Hang 蔡杭
Cai Shen 蔡深
Cai Yu 蔡羽
Cang Jie 倉頡
Cao Zhibo 曹知白
"Two Pines" 雙松圖
ceseng 側鋒
cha 查
cha-strokes 擦法
Chang Gate 閶門
Chang Temple 常庵
chang daoqing 唱道情
Changqing Temple 常青庵
Changshu 常熟
Changzhou 長洲
Chao fenfeng yueju 朝分暮判句
Chen Ci 陳慈
Chen Gongfu 陳公輔
Chen Gongzuo 陳公佐
Chen Guan 陳貫
Chen Jue 陳抉
Chen Liangxiang 陳良相
Chen Lin 陳琳
Chen Liu 陳霤
Chen Luo 陳螺
Chen Ruyan 陳汝言
Chen Shun 陳淳
Chen Xian 陳暹
Chen Yan 陳彥
Chen Yi 陳沂
Chen Yuquan 陳雨泉
Cheng Huan 程環
Chenhao, Prince of Ning 寧王宸濠
chengxiang 丞相
Chibi fu 赤壁賦
Chongzuo wannian gong 冲佐萬年宮
Chuci 楚辭
Cui Jin 崔琎
cunfa 皴法
Da River 大瀆
da fupi cun 大斧劈皴
Dai Jin 戴進
"Returning Late from a Spring Outing" 春遊晚歸
"Verdant Hills in Spring" 春山積翠
Dai Kui 戴逵
daizhao 待詔
Dan Chongguang 單重光
dao 盜
Dawang Peak 大王峰
dingtou 丁頭
Dong Qichang 董其昌
Dong Yuan 董源
Dongcun 東邨
Dong-Ju School 董巨派
Dongfang Shuo 東方朔
Dongting Hts 洞庭山
doubi 斗筆
Doumu Peak 兜鍪峰
Du Jin 杜堇
"Enjoying Antiquities" 玩古圖
Du Mu 都穆
Du Ping 杜平
Du Qiong 杜瓊
dun 頓
Echang sanren 鵝場散人
Esen 也先
Fan Can 范粲
Fan Kuan 范寬
Fang, King of Qi 齊王芳
Fang Congyi 方從義
"Rowing in the Wuyi" 武夷放櫂圖
Fang Hao 方豪
fantou 筆頭
Fei Cai 費采
feibai 飛白
feiti 飛題
fenben 分本
Feng Fang 馮坊
Feng *xian* 豐縣
Feng Yi 馮翼
Fenyi 分宜
Fu Yue 傅說
fugu 復古
fupi cun 斧劈皴
gaihu 丐戶
Gao Di 高第
Gao Kegong 高克恭
Gao You 高祐
Gaozong, Emperor of the Song dynasty 宋高宗
Gaozong, Emperor of the Yin dynasty 殷高宗

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Ge Changgeng 葛長庚
Ge Xuan 葛玄
Gengyi Plateau 更衣台
Gong Kai 龔開
gongbi 工筆
gongtian 公田
Gu Chun 顧春
Gu Dehui 顧德輝
Gu Hongzhong 顧閎中
Gu Jianlong 顧見龍
Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之
Gu Kexue 顧可學
Gu Lin 顧琳
Gu Ying 顧瑛
Gu Yingxiang 顧應祥
Gu Zongqi 顧宗祺
Guacang Mts. 括蒼山
Guangzong, Emperor of the Song dynasty 宋光宗
guanli 冠禮
guantian 官田
Guanyin Peaks 觀音峰
Guo Chun 郭純
Guo Xi 郭熙
gushi 古詩
Gusu 姑蘇
Haiyan 海鹽
Han Xin 韓信
Han Xizai 韓熙載
Han Yu 韓愈
hang 行
hangjia 行家
Hangzhou 杭州
hanlin 翰林
Hanlin Academy 翰林院
Hanlin Zhong Kui 翰林鍾馗
Hanshan 寒山
hao 號
Hao River 滈
He Liangjun 何良俊
houxi 後溪
Hua shi zhenshangzhai fu zhu 華氏眞賞齋賦注
Huan, Duke of Qi 齊桓公
Huan Xuan 桓玄
Huang Gongwang 黃公望
Huang Jishui 黃姬水
Huang Shan 黃山
Huang Tingjian 黃廷堅
Huanghuang zhe hua 皇皇者華
Huaqing Palace 華清宮
Huaqing Pool 華清池
Huating 華亭
huayuan 畫院
Huizong, Emperor of the Song dynasty 宋徽宗
hujiao-dian 胡椒點
Huotuo 滑陀
Huzhou 湖州
Ji Kang 嵇康
Jiading 嘉定
jianban 簡板
Jiang An 將昂
Jiang Bin 江彬
Jiang Song 蔣嵩
"An Old Tree at a Stream" 古木流泉
Jiangnan 江南
jiaomo 焦墨
Jiaxing 嘉興
jiebiao 揭裱
jiehua 界畫
Jiesun Peak 接筍峰
jieyi banbo 解衣般礴
Jigu minghui 集古名繪
jinbi 金碧
Jinling 金陵
jinshi 進士
Jiufang Gao 九方皋
Jiufeng Academy 九峰書院
Jiuge 九歌
Jiuqu 九曲
Ju Jie 居節
Juran 巨然
juren 舉人
Kuaiji 會稽
kuigu 刲股
Kunqu 崑曲
Kunshan 崑山
Lanxi 蘭谿
Laozi 老子
Leng Qian 冷謙
Li Cheng 李成
Li Dongyang 李東陽
Li Gonglin 李公麟
Li Mengyang 李夢陽
Li Shida 李士達
Li Sixun 李思訓
Li Song 李嵩
Li Tang 李唐
"Meditation on Clouds" 坐石看雲
"Whispering Pines in the Mountains" 萬壑松風
"Small Scene of Rivers and Mountains" 江山小景
Li Tieguai 李鐵拐
Li Xu 李緒
Li Zai 李在
Li Zhaodao 李昭道
Li Zhu 李著
Lianchuan 練川
Liang Kai 梁楷

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Li-Guo School 李郭派
lijia 隸家
Li-Liu School 李劉派
lin 臨
Lin Fang 林芳
Lin Hong 林鴻
Lin Wenjun 林文俊
linben 臨本
Ling Peak 靈岬
Lingxu 靈虛
Liu Feng 劉鳳
Liu Haichan 劉海蟾
Liu Jin 劉瑾
Liu Jue 劉珏
Liu Jun 劉俊
Liu Mengju 劉夢橘
Liu Songnian 劉松年
"Conversation with a Guest in a River Pavilion" 溪亭客話
"Painting of the Bian Bridge" 便橋圖
"Painting of the Nine Old Men" 九老圖
Liu Yue 劉說
liufa 六法
liumin 流民
Lu Demin 陸德明
Lu Junyue 陸君約
Lu Shidao 陸師道
Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲
Lu Xinyuan 陸心源
Luo Yingzhao 羅應兆
Luoyang 洛陽
lüshi 律詩
Ma Shi 馬軾
Ma Yuan 馬遠
Manting Peak 漫亭峰
Ma-Xia School 馬夏派
Mayue Cliff 馬月崖
Mei Yu 梅谷
Meishu zhuanmen xuexiao 北京美術專門學校
Mi 宓
Mi Fei (Fu) 米芾
mianmi xiaosan 綿密蕭散
Mianzhou 綿州
Miao Zeng 苗增
Ming huace 明畫冊
Ming zhuchen shuhua shanmian ceye 明諸臣書畫扇面冊頁
Minghuang 明皇
Mingren bianmian huace 明人便面畫冊
Mingren huashan 明人畫扇
Mingren shantou hua 明人扇頭畫
Mingren shuhua shanmian 名人書畫扇面
Mingxian jice 明賢集冊
mo 墨
Mo Shilong 莫是龍
mogu 沒骨
moxi 墨戲
Nan zhili 南直隸
Nanchang 南昌
Ni Duan 倪端
Ni Zan 倪瓚
Ning Qi 寧啟
Ningbo 寧波
Niu Jian 牛撰
Pang Yuanji 龐元濟
Peng Niar 彭年
Pengzu 彭祖墓
pima cun 披麻皴
pingdan tianzhen 平淡天眞
pingyuan 平遠
Qian Hongde 錢洪德
Qian Ning 錢寧
Qian Xuan 錢選
Qiantang 錢塘
qin 琴
qinglü 青綠
Qiu 丘
Qiu Ying 仇英
"Discussing Painting under Pines" 松窗論畫
"Garden Dwelling" 愛園居圖
"Illustration to the Classic of Filial Piety" 孝經圖
"Illustrations to the two *fus* '*Zixu*' and '*Shanglin*'" 子虛上林二賦圖
"Mountains of the Immortals":
1) Yunxi xianguan 雲溪仙館
2) Xianshan louge 仙山樓閣
"Offering of Tribute" 職貢圖
"Playing Music in the Shadow of Banana Leaves" 蕉陰結夏
"Six Scenes in Song and Yuan Styles" 臨宋元六景
"Spring in the Han Palace" 漢宮春曉
"Watching the Waterfall from a Pine-shaded Pavilion" 松亭觀瀑
"Wax Plum (*Chimonanthus fragrans*) and Narcissus 蠟梅水仙圖
"Xiang *jun* and Xiang *furen*" 湘君湘夫人
Qiu *shi* 仇氏
Qu Yuan 屈原
ren 仁
Renzhi Palace 仁智殿
Ruan Yuan 阮元
San xiao yin yuan 三笑因緣
Sanyang Peaks 三仰峰
Shang Xi 商喜
"Four Immortals Honouring the God of Immortality" 四仙拱壽圖
Shanglin fu 上林賦
shangshu 尚書

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Shanyin 山陰
Shao Bao 邵寶
She 歙
Shen Cheng 沈澄
Shen Heng 沈恒
Shen Jingshi 沈荊石
Shen Liangzhen 沈良琛
Shen Shuo 沈碩
Shen Yu 沈遇
Shen Zhao 沈昭
Shen Zhen 沈貞
Shen Zhou 沈周
"Hibiscus" 秋葵圖
"Paintings from Nature" 寫生
"The Season of Falling Flowers" 落花圖
Sheng Chang 盛昶
Sheng Mao 盛茂
Shengzhen Temple 昇仙觀
shi 詩
shi daifu hua 士大夫畫
Shi Rui 石銳
Shi Wen 石文
Shide 拾得
shitang 詩堂
Shu Binyan 叔賓顏
Shunchen 舜臣
Shunqing 舜卿
Simu 四牡
Sichao xuancao 四朝選藁
Sima Qian 司馬遷
Sima Xiangru 司馬相如
Songjiang 宋江
Su Fu 蘇扶
Su Niaoshi 蘇鳥石
Su Qin 蘇欽
Su Shi 蘇軾
sui 歲
Sun Long 孫隆
Suzhou 蘇州
Taicang 太倉
taidian 苔點
Tai Hao Fu Xi 太昊伏羲氏
Taihu 太湖
Tang Yian 唐一菴
Tang Yin 唐寅
"A Thatched Cottage at the River" 江干草閣
"Boat moored by the Reeds" 蘆塘醉漁
"Clearing after Snow on a Mountain Pass" 山雪初晴
"Dongfang Shuo" 東方朔
"Enjoying the Pure Breeze in a Thatched Cottage" 草堂風清
"Exchanging Reminiscences in a Thatched Cottage" 草堂話舊
"Figures in Tang Style" 倣唐人仕女
"Fisherman" 漁父圖
"Fishing in Seclusion among Streams and Mountains" 溪山漁隱
"Gathering Lotus-seeds" 採蓮圖
"Lady Ban Holding the Autumn Fan" 班姬團扇
"Looking at a Waterfall and Listening to the Wind" 看泉聽風
"Reciting Poems at a Mountain Torrent" 澗上吟詩
"Returning Home Carrying a Lute" 抱琴歸去
"Riding Homewards on a Donkey" 騎驢歸思
"Shrubs and Bamboo":
1) Guanmu conghuang 灌木叢篁
2) Guanmu congxiao 灌木叢筱
"Tall Mountains and Strange Trees" 高山奇樹
"To decoct Medicine" 煎藥圖
"Travellers in Autumn Mountains" 秋山行旅
"Watching the Waterfall" 松窗觀泉
"Whispering Pines on a Mountain Path" 山路松濤
Tao Qian 陶潛
Tao Yuanming 陶淵明
ti 提
Tianping Mountains 天平山
Tiantai 天台
tubi 禿筆
Wanchun Temple 萬春庵
Wang Anshi 王安石
Wang Ao 王鏊
Wang Chideng 王稚登
Wang Chong 王寵
Wang Duan 王端
Wang E 王鍔
Wang Fu 王紱
Wang Guxiang 王穀祥
Wang Huan 王渙
Wang Huizhi 王徽之
Wang Meng 王蒙
Wang Ru'nan 王汝南
Wang Shizhen 王世貞
Wang Shouren 王守仁
Wang Weiyi 王惟一
Wang Xianchen 王獻臣
Wang Xizhi 王羲之
Wang Zhen 王震
wangcun 網巾
Wen Boren 文伯仁
Wen Jia 文嘉
Wen Lin 文林
Wen Peng 文彭
Wen Zhengming 文徵明
"The Red Cliff" 赤壁圖
"Spring Trees after Rain" 雨後春樹
"Tall Trees and a Marshy Bank" 長松平岸
"Xiang *jun* and Xiang *furen*" 湘君湘夫人

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Wen Zhaotong 温肇桐
Weng Gui Chaofen 翁桂朝芬
wenren hua 文人画
Wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui, Shanghai 上海文物保管委員會
Woyun 臥雲
Wu 吳
Wu-school 吳派
Wu Hufan 吳湖帆
Wu Juling 吳鞠陵
Wu Kuan 吳寬
Wu Qiulin 吳秋林
Wu Shizuo 吳時佐
Wu Wei 吳偉
Wu Zhen 吳鎮
"Two Pines" 雙松圖
Wu Zilin (-ling) 吳子璘
Wujiang 吳江
wuqi 武乞
Wutai Mountains 五台山
Wuxi 無錫
Wuxing 吳興
Wuyi Mountains 武夷山
Xia Gui 夏珪 (圭)
Xiamo xianren 蝦蟆仙人
Xi'an 西安
xian 縣
Xiang Shengbiao 項聖表
Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴
Xiang Yuanqi 項元淇
Xiao Chen 蕭琛
Xiao Zhao 蕭照
"Auspicious Omens in the Life of Song Gaozong" 中興瑞應圖
"Mansions in the Mountains" 山腰樓觀
Xiaoya 小雅
Xiaoyin ping 小隱屏
Xiaozong, Emperor of the Song dynasty 宋孝宗
Xie He 謝赫
Xie Huan 謝環
Xie Shichen 謝時臣
Xingcun 星村
xiucai 秀才
xiucaihua 秀才画
Xiyuan 西園
Xu Ben 徐賁
Xu Bing 徐丙
Xu Dazuo 徐大佐
Xu Jin 徐縉
Xu Lin 徐霖
Xu shi Minze 徐氏民則
Xu Tingjin 許廷錦
Xu Wei 徐渭
Xu Xiangqing 許相卿
Xu Xuandu 徐玄度
Xuzhou 徐州
Yan Ciping 閻次平
"Herding Buffaloes during the Four Seasons" 牧牛圖
"Villa by a Pine Path" 松蹊精廬
Yan Hui 顏輝
Yan Song 嚴嵩
Yan Zhenqing 顏眞卿
Yandang Mountains 雁蕩山
Yang Guifei 楊貴妃
Yang Jian 楊簡
Yanqing huimei 延清蕾美
Yanyun baoji 煙雲寶笈
Yao Shou 姚綬
yimin 逸民
Yiwan 宜晚
Yong Xing 永興
Yonggui jingshe 詠歸精舍
You Qiu 尤求
Yu Fan 郁璠
Yuan An 袁安
Yuanti-school 院體派
Yue Dai 岳岱
yugu 漁鼓
Yunü Peak 玉女峰
Yushan yaren 虞山雅人
Zhang Binhe 張賓鶴
Zhang Chou 張丑
Zhang Dunli 張敦禮
Zhang Fengyi 張鳳翼
Zhang Guan 張觀
Zhang Huan 張煥
Zhang Ling 張凌
Zhang Lu 張路
Zhang Quan 張泉
Zhang Shicheng 張士誠
Zhang Xiaju 張霞居
Zhang Xianyi 張獻翼
Zhang Xunli 張訓禮
Zhang Yanyi 張燕翼
Zhang Zhun 張準
Zhao Boju 趙伯駒
Zhao Bosu 趙伯驌
Zhao Gan 趙幹
"Early Snow on the River" 江行初雪
Zhao Lingrang 趙令穰
Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫
Zhao-Li-Liu School 趙李劉派
Zhe-school 浙派
Zheng Guobin 鄭國賓
Zheng Shanfu 鄭善夫
Zheng Wenqing 鄭文卿

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Zheng Xia 鄭俠
Zhifan, Prince of Anhua 安化王寘鐇
Zhishan 質山
Zhong Kui 鍾馗
Zhong Kui jia mei 鍾馗嫁妹
Zhong Li 鍾離
Zhong Ziqi 鍾子期
zhongfeng 中鋒
Zhongnanshan 終南山
Zhongzi 中子
Zhou Chen 周臣
"A Boat moored among Pines and Cliffs" 松巖泊舟
"A Hut in the Wuyun" 五雲山房
"A Pavilion among Windblown Trees" 松風高閣
"A Rising Dragon" 起蛟圖
"A Secluded Dwelling in a Snowy Landscape" 雪溪高隱圖
"Abandoning the Oar in the midst of the River" 中流放棹圖
"Autumn in a Bamboo Valley" 竹谿秋色
"Bamboo, Stone and a Tall Tree" 竹石喬柯
"Beggars and Street Characters" 流民圖
"The *Bili* Garden" 薜荔園
"Calling for a Ferry at a River in Autumn" 秋江問渡
"Clear Lake" 白漾圖
"Cloudy Mountains" 烟山蜜靄
"Cold Mountains and Withered Trees" 寒山古木
"Cockfight" 鬪雞圖
"Cutting Reeds in the Field during Spring" 春畦
"Distant View from a Riverside Villa" 江鄉遠眺
"Dreaming of Immortality in a Thatched Cottage" 夢仙草堂
"The Eastern Mountain" 東山圖
"Emperor Minghuang Touring the Moon Palace" 明皇遊月宮
"Enjoying a Cooling Breeze in a Mountain Pavilion" 山亭納涼
"Enjoying a Secluded Life in a Mountain Dwelling" 山莊逸興圖
"Enjoyment in the Hao River" 盛業圖
"Expelling Devils on the Southern Mountain" 南山驅魅圖
"Farewell at the Brushwood Gate" 柴門相送圖
"Fields in Summer Rain" 夏畦時雨
"Fishing" 把釣圖
"Fishing Village" 漁鄉圖
"The Four Seasons" 青綠春夏秋冬四幅
"Handscroll Depicting the Landscape along Yangzi" 長江萬里圖
"Illustration after Han Yu's *Depictions of Sceneries*" 沈石田倣東村合面惟退之画記狀物
"Copy after Zhao Boju's 'Illustration to the *Odes to the Red Cliff*'" 臨趙千里前後二赤壁賦
"Illustration to the Poetical Phrase 'Leisurely Watching Children Playing with Willow Flowers'" 閒看兒童捉柳花句意
"Illustration to the story of the Fisherman Entering the Peach Blossom Valley" 武陵源圖
"Immortals Offering Immortality" 獻壽圖
"Leisurely Talk in a Pine-shaded Pavilion" 松亭閒話
"Listening to Autumn" 聽秋圖
"Listening to the Cascades of Water in a Pine Valley" 松壑聽泉
"Listening to the Mountain Stream" 聽泉圖
"Listening to the Song of the Pines and the Cascades of Water, when the Autumn Wind fills the Myriad of Ravines" 松壑石瀨，萬壑秋風
"Listening to the *yueqin* at the Bank of a Mountain Stream" 清泉聽阮
"Lucid Talk amidst the Shadows" 松陰清話
"Making Tea under Pine Trees by a Stream" 松泉煮茶圖
"Massed Mountains and Small Homesteads along a Broad River" 山水長卷
"The Nightly Revels of Han Xizai" 韓熙載夜宴圖
"Nine Generations Living together" 九世同居圖
"Ning Qi Feeding his Ox" 寧戚飯牛圖
"The North Pole" 北極圖
"The Northern Sea" 北溟圖
"Offering Lions as a Tribute" 貢獅圖
"One hundred Centenarians" 百壽圖
"Painting of Fu Yan 傅巖圖
"Painting of the Jin Creek" 錦溪圖
"Painting of the Nine Old Gentlemen" 九老圖
"Paintings done in Return for Medical Help" 謝醫圖
"Paintings of Five Sages" 五賢高士圖
"Parson Crows" 慈烏圖
"Picking Leaves and Making Tea" 摘葉烹茶
"Picking Water Chestnuts" 採菱圖
"Pines and Cliffs with Cascades of Water" 松巖飛瀑
"Pines by a Stream" 水源松色 (山水)
"Playing Chess by a Window below Pines" 松窗對奕圖
"Pleasures at an Autumn River" 秋江至樂
"Pleasures of Farming" 田舍農樂
"Poetical Thoughts among Pines and Streams" 松泉詩思
"Portrait of Zhang Binhe" 畫鶴圖
"Qu Yuan Reciting Poems on his Wanderings" 屈子行吟圖
"Reading the *Book of Changes* in a Wintry Forest" 寒林讀易
"The Retreat of Chunquan" 春泉小隱圖
"Returning Home by Boat in Wind and Rain" 風雨歸舟圖
"Riverside Leisure" 水亭清興
"Sails at the River and Pavilions among the Mountains" 秋帆山閣

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"Scenery with Cloudy Mountains" 滿目雲山圖
"Scholar Looking at a Waterfall" 高士觀瀑圖
"Scholar with a Lute Visiting a Friend" 携琴訪友圖
"Seeking Autumn in the Southern Mountains" 南嶽尋秋
"Sitting in the Shadow of Pines" 松陰並坐圖
"The Sound of Mountain Torrents in a Pine Valley"
松谷鳴泉圖
"Studio in the Mei Village" 梅村書屋圖
"Transmitting the *Dao*" 傳道圖
"Travellers in the Mountains during Spring"
春山遊騎
"Views from a Spring Excursion" 春遊聞眺
"View of the Jinshan Rock in the Yangzi River"
金山圖
"The Virtuous Wife *née* Yu Blinding herself" 貞節婦劇目圖
"Visiting a Friend among Mountain Streams and
Pines" 松溪訪友圖
"Visiting a Mountain Dweller" 山齋客至圖
"Visiting Friends amidst Snowy Mountains" 雪山訪友圖
"Wading the River in Autumn Mist" (copy after
Zhao Gan) 煙靄秋涉圖
"Walking Alone in a Bamboo Grove" (even titled:
"Figure in Landscape") 竹林獨步 (人物小景)
"Water Pavilions and Paths amidst Pine Valleys"
松溪水榭
"The Wheat of Huotuo" 禅陀飯麥圖
"The Wuyi Mountains" 山水
"Yiwan tu" 宜晚圖
"Zhong Kui" 鍾馗
Zhou Eryong 周鼎墉
Zhou Fang 周昉
"Cockfight in a Spring Garden" 春院鬪雞圖
Zhou Fenglai 周鳳來
Zhou Fengyi 周鳳儀
Zhou Lian 周璉
Zhou Liuguan 周六觀
Zhou Tianqiu 周天球
Zhou Wenqing 周文靖
Zhou Yanxiang 周延祥
Zhu Duan 朱端
Zhu Derun 朱德潤
"River Landscape in Haze with two Men seated
below Pine-Trees Listening to a *Qin* Player" 林下鳴琴
Zhu Jingzhao ji 祝京兆集
Zhu Xi 朱熹
Zhu Yunming 祝允明
Zhuchen Village 朱陳村
zhushan 主山
Zhu sheng 朱生
zi 字
Zishan 紫子山
Zixu fu 子虛賦

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LIST OF PLATES

1. Zhou Chen, "The Clear Lake", Courtesy Nelson-Atkins Gallery, Kansas.
2. Zhou Chen, "Enjoying a Secluded Life", unknown coll.
3. Zhou Chen, "Visiting a Mountain Dweller", Shanghai Museum.
4. Zhou Chen, "Men in a Pavilion on the Steep Bank of a Mountain Stream", Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
5. Zhou Chen, "The Peach Blossom Valley", Suzhou Museum.

6–9. Zhou Chen, "The Northern Sea", Courtesy Nelson Atkins Gallery, Kansas.

10. Li Tang, "Whispering Pines in the Mountains", National Palace Museum, Taipei.

11a. Li Tang, "Small Scene of Rivers and Mountains" (detail), National Palace Museum, Taipei.

11b. Li Tang, "Meditation on Clouds", National Palace Museum, Taipei.

12. Tang Yin, "Landscape" ("Exchanging Reminiscences in a Thatched Cottage"), National Palace Museum, Taipei.
13. Zhou Chen, "Riverside Leisure", National Palace Museum, Taipei.
14. Zhou Chen, "Leisurely Watching Children Playing with Willow Flowers", National Palace Museum, Taipei.
15. Zhou Chen, "Cockfight", The Art Museum, Princeton University.
16. Zhou Chen, "Copy after Zhao Gan's Wading the River in Autumn Mist", Ogawa Coll., Kyoto.
17. Zhao Gan, "Wading the River in Autumn Mist" (copy), National Palace Museum, Taipei.
18. Zhao Gan, "Wading the River in Autumn Mist" (copy), National Palace Museum, Taipei.
19. Zhao Gan, "Early Snow on the River", National Palace Museum, Taipei.
20. Zhou Chen, "Listening to the Mountain Stream", Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
21. Zhou Chen, "Playing Chess by a Window below Pines", National Palace Museum, Taipei.
22. Zhou Chen, "Calling on a Friend", Shandong Wenwu Baoguan Weiyuanhui.
23. Xu Lin, "Liu Bei's Messenger at the Gate of Zhu Geliang's Mountain Abode", formerly Hozo Hara Coll.
24. Zhou Chen, "Poetical Thoughts among Pines and Streams", National Palace Museum, Taipei.
25. Dai Jin, "Verdant Hills in Spring", Shanghai Museum.
26. Dai Jin, "The Hermit Xu You Resting by a Stream", The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase, John L. Severance Fund.
27. Zhou Chen, "Farewell at the Brushwood Gate", Nanjing Museum.
28. Wu Wei, "The Iron Flute", Shanghai Museum.
29. Zhou Chen, "Ning Qi Feeding his Ox", National Palace Museum, Taipei.

30-31. Zhou Chen, "Yiwan tu", National Palace Museum, Taipei.

32. Zhou Chen, "The Wuyi Mountains", National Palace Museum, Taipei.

33–38. Zhou Chen, "Beggars and Street Characters", Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu, Hawaii.

39–44. Zhou Chen, "Beggars and Street Characters", The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase, John L. Severance Fund.

45. Zhang Lu, "Figures" (details), Tianjin Museum.
46. Zhu Yu, "Street Scenes in the Time of Peace", Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.
47. Zhou Chen, "Immortal with Toad", Unknown Coll.
48. Wu Wei, "Two Taoist Immortals", Shanghai Museum.
49. Zhou Chen, "Zhong Kui Expelling Devils", Unknown coll.
50. Zhou Chen, "Lucid Talk amidst Pine Shadows", Shanghai Wenwu Baoguan Weiyuanhui.
51. Zhou Chen, "Listening to the Song in the Pines and the Cascades of Water", National Palace Museum, Taipei.
52. Zhou Chen, "Conversation below Pines", Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu, Hawaii.
53. Zhou Chen, "Scholar with a Goosefeather Fan", National Palace Museum, Taipei.

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54. Zhou Chen, "Water Pavilions and Paths amidst Pine Valleys", National Palace Museum, Taipei.
55a. Zhou Chen, "Mountain Landscape", Unknown coll.
55b. Zhou Chen, "Scholar Looking at a Waterfall", Hashimoto Coll., Osaka.
56. Zhou Chen, "Listening to the Cascades of Water in a Pine Valley", National Palace Museum.
57. Zhou Chen, "Ferry on the River", National Palace Museum, Taipei.
58a. Zhou Chen, "Returning Home by Boat in Wind and Rain", Hashimoto Coll., Osaka.
58b. Zhou Chen, "Pavilion among Windblown Trees", Shanghai Wenwu Baoguan Weiyuanhui.
59. Tang Yin, "Whispering Pines on a Mountain Path", National Palace Museum, Taipei.
60. Qiu Ying, "Watching the Waterfall from a Pine-shaded Pavilion", National Palace Museum, Taipei.
61. Signatures and seals: Figs. 1-9: Details from pls. 1, 6, 14, 15, 16, 21, 29, 30, 32; Fig. 10: "Beggars and Street Characters" (detail); Figs. 11–14: Details from pls. 51, 53, 54, 57.

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Plate 1

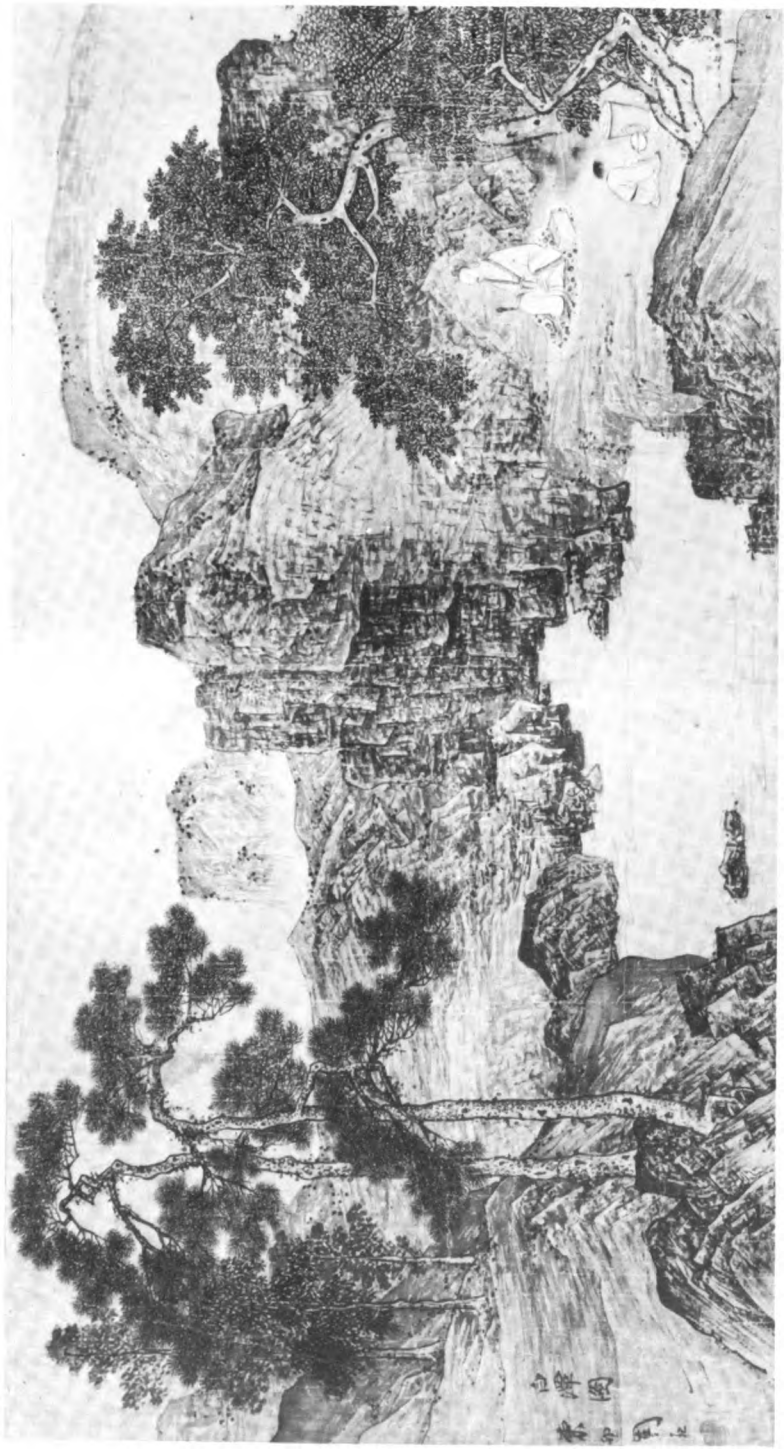

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Plate 2

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Plate 3

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Plate 4

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Plate 6

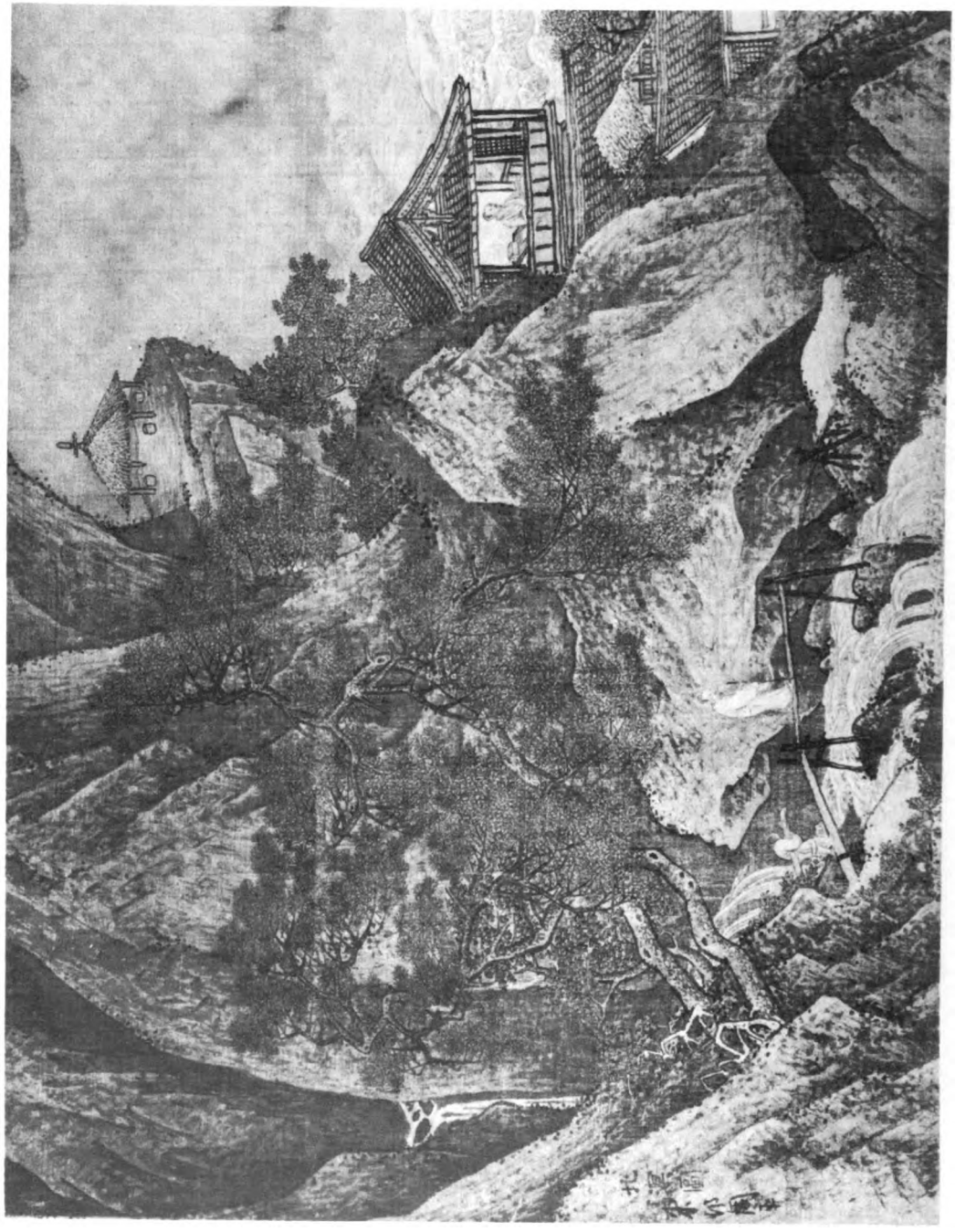

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Plate 7

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Plate 8

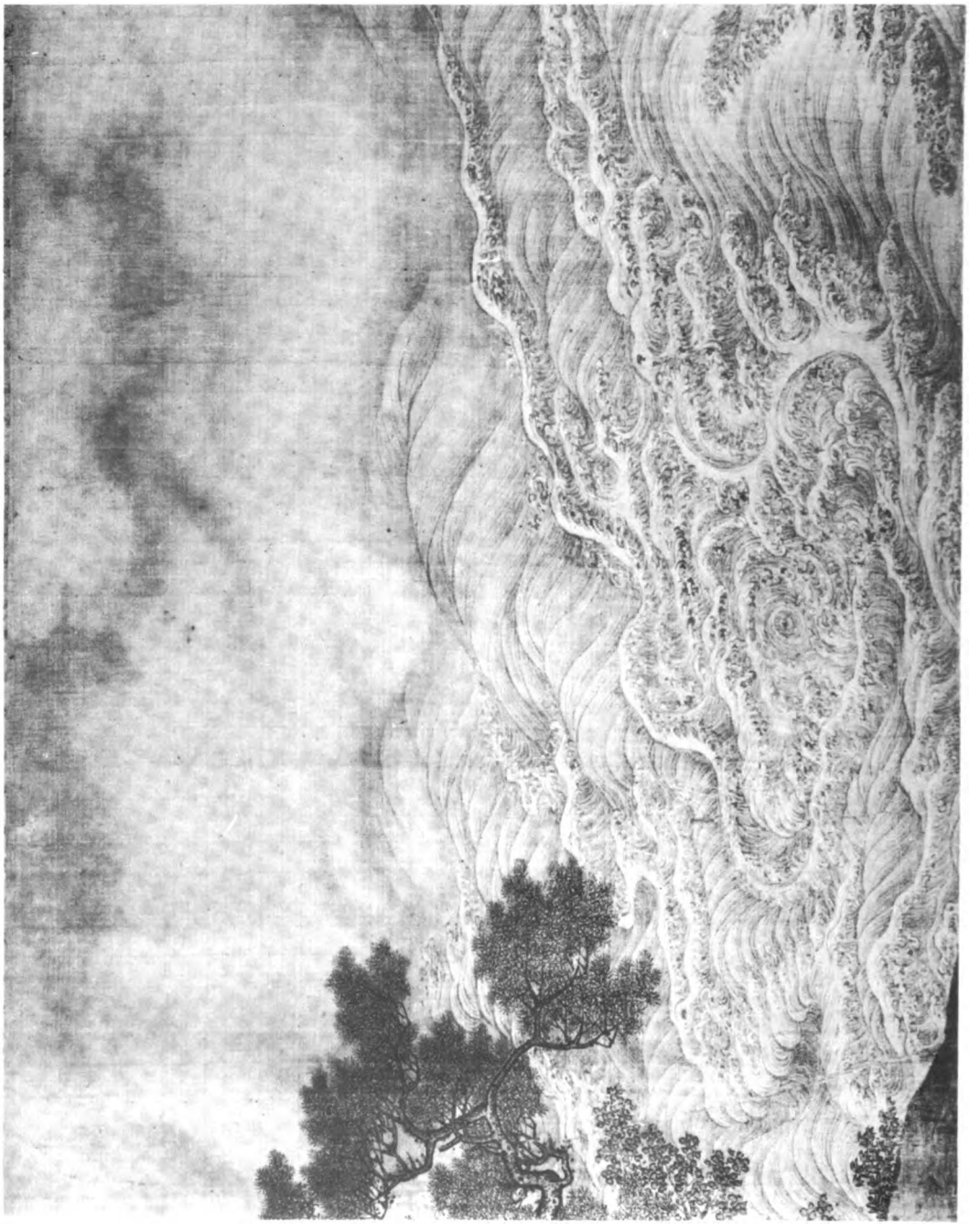

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Plate 9

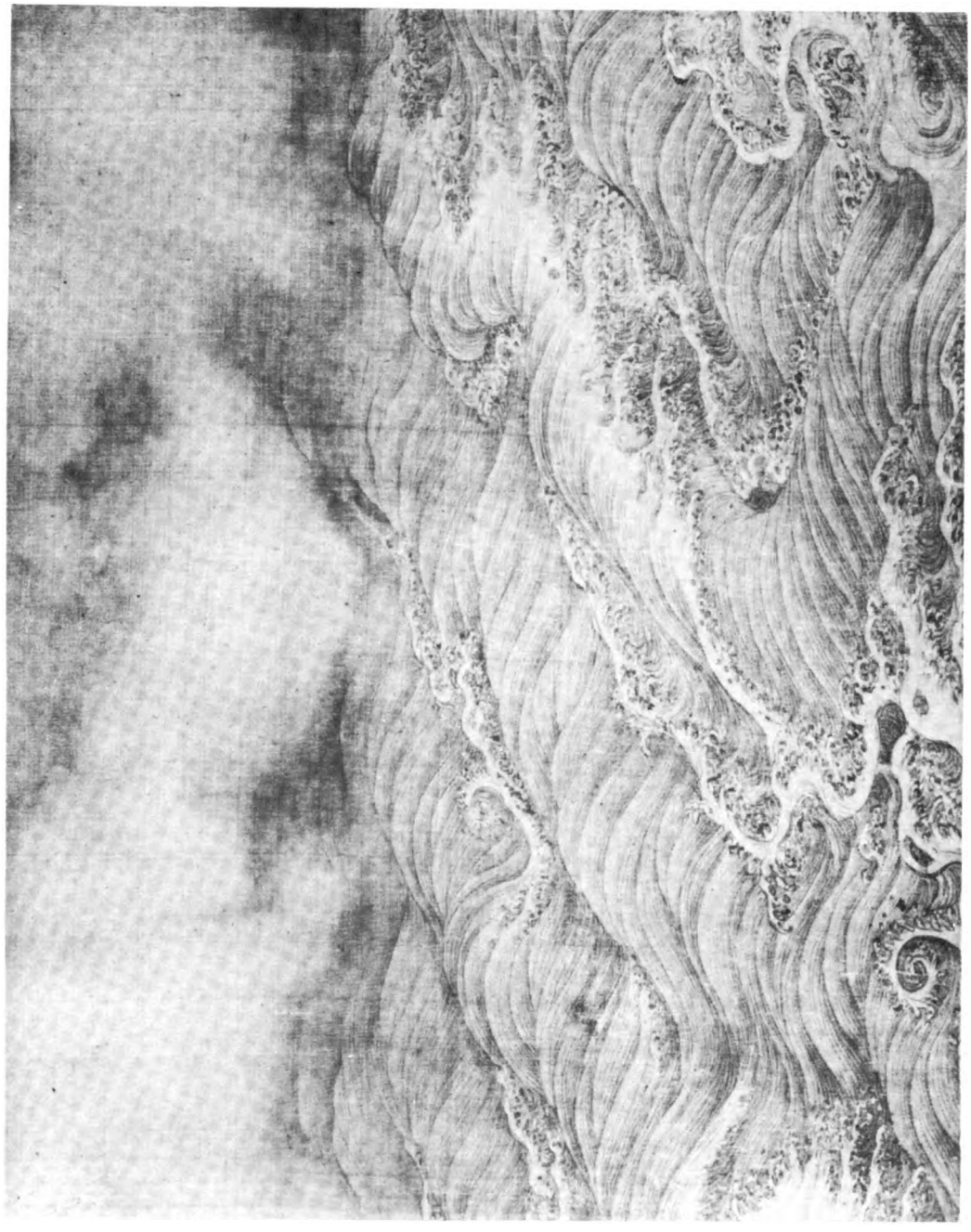

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Plate 10

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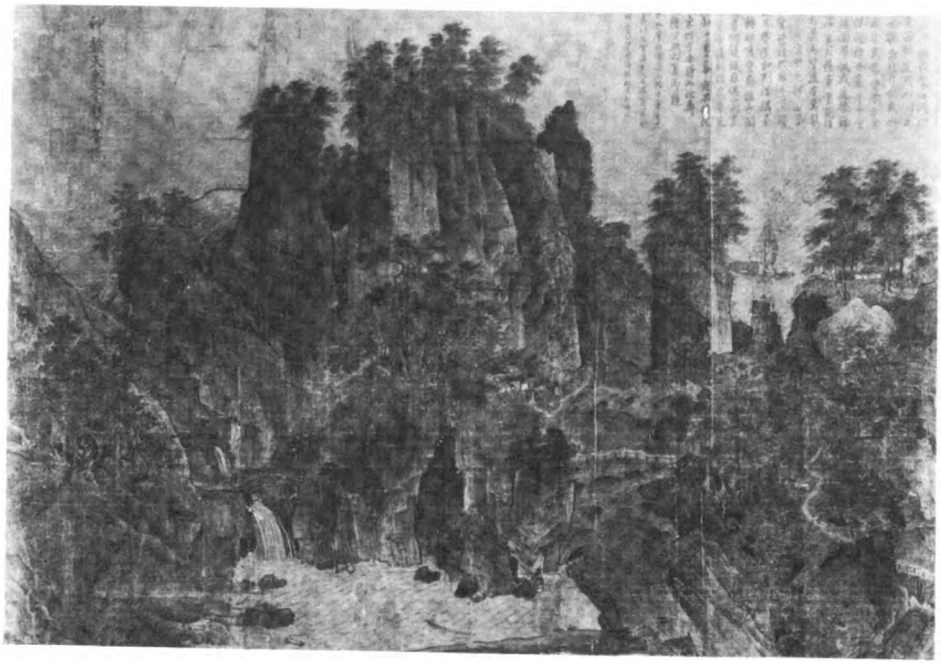
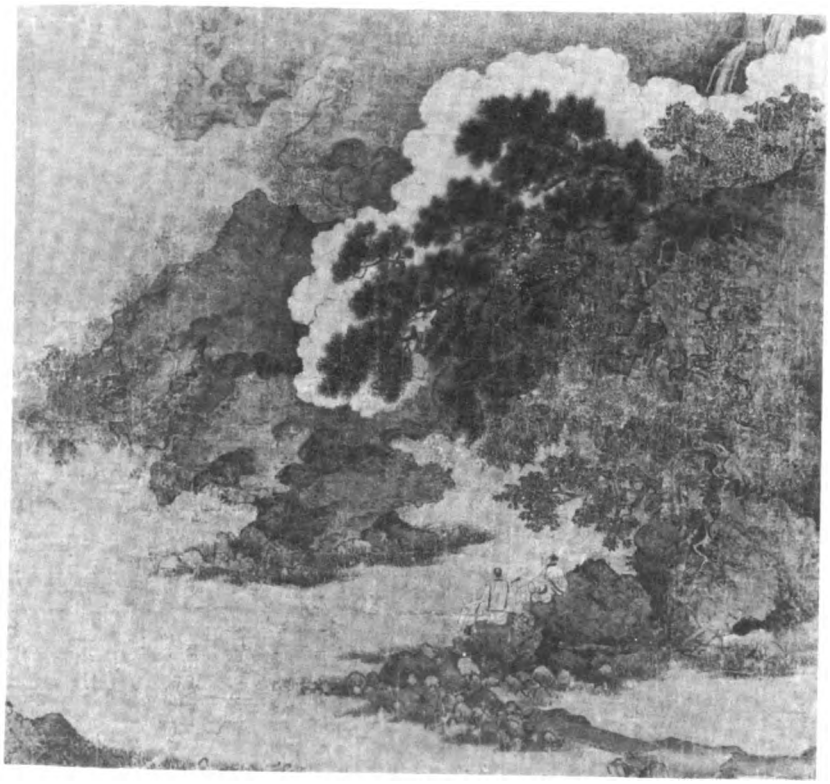


Pl. 11 a
←

Pl.11 b
→



李唐坐石看雲

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Plate 12

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Plate 13

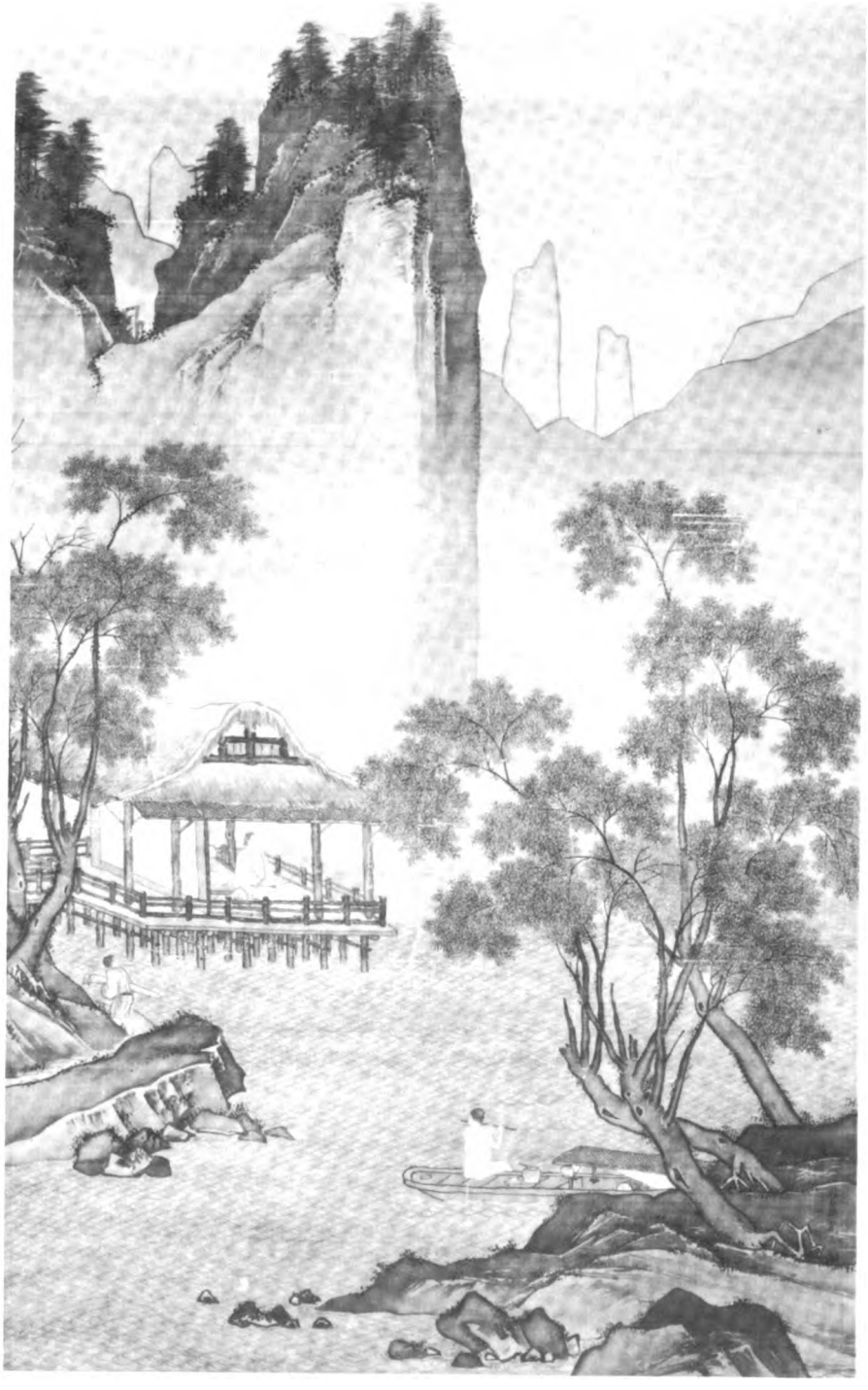

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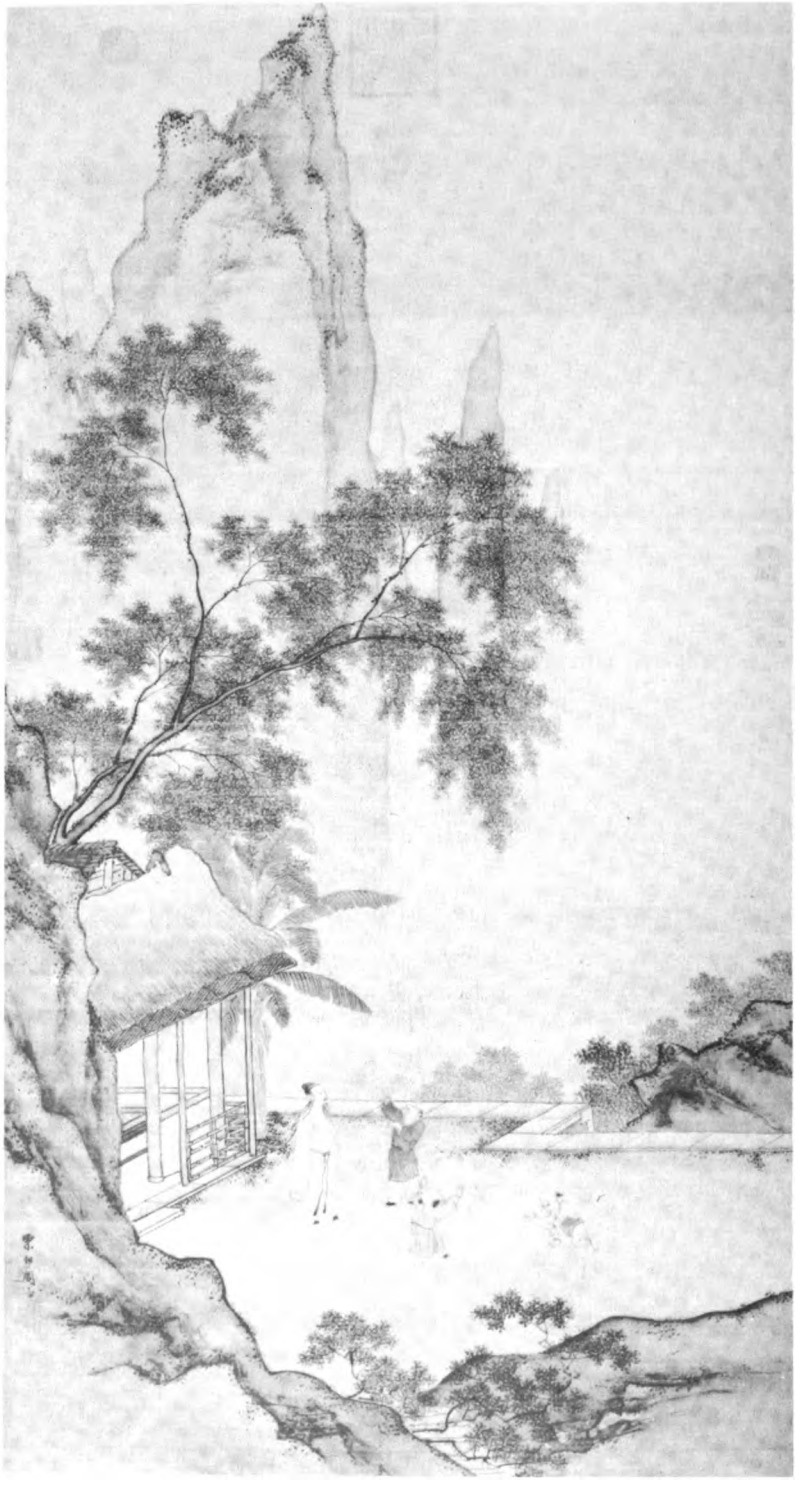
Plate 14



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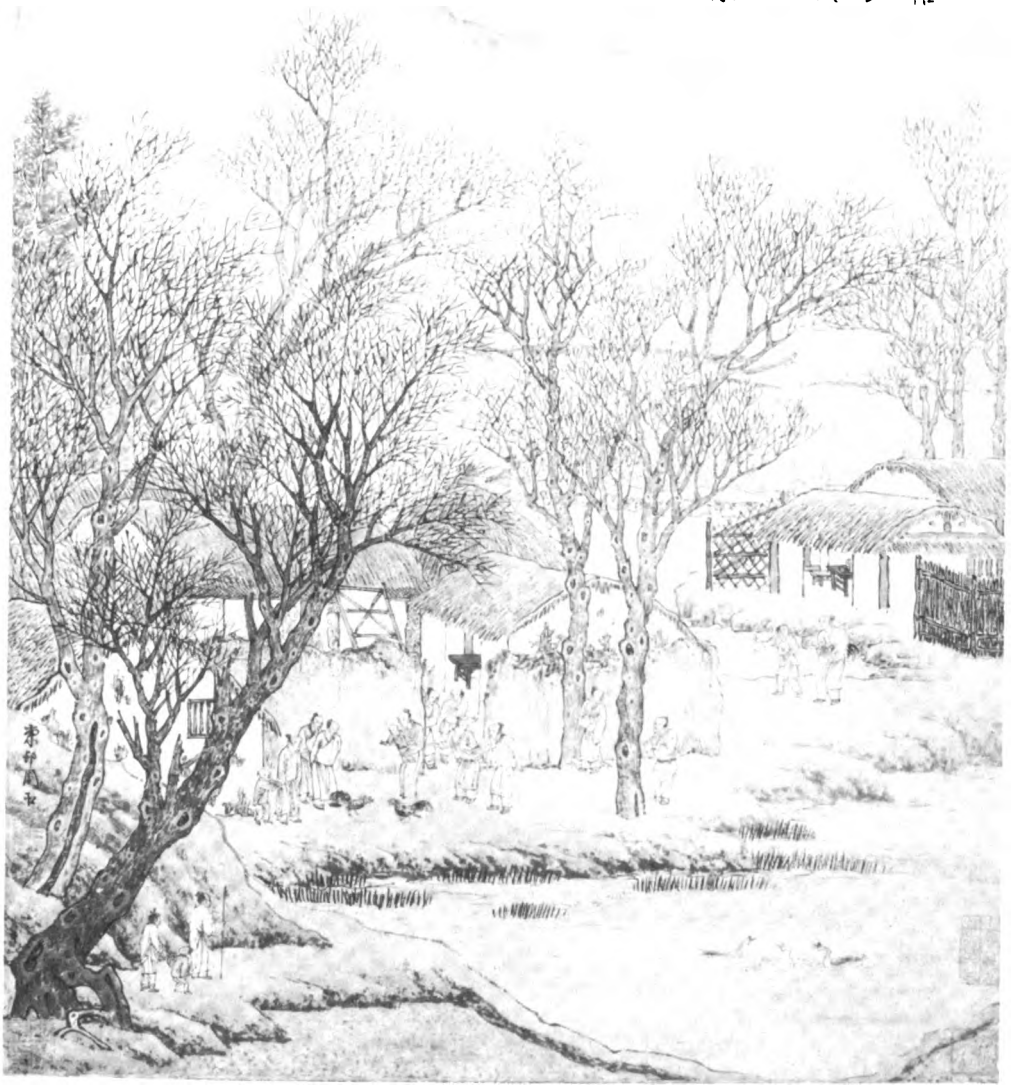

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Plate 16

Pl. 16 a ↑

Pl. 16 b ↑

Pl. 16 c ↓

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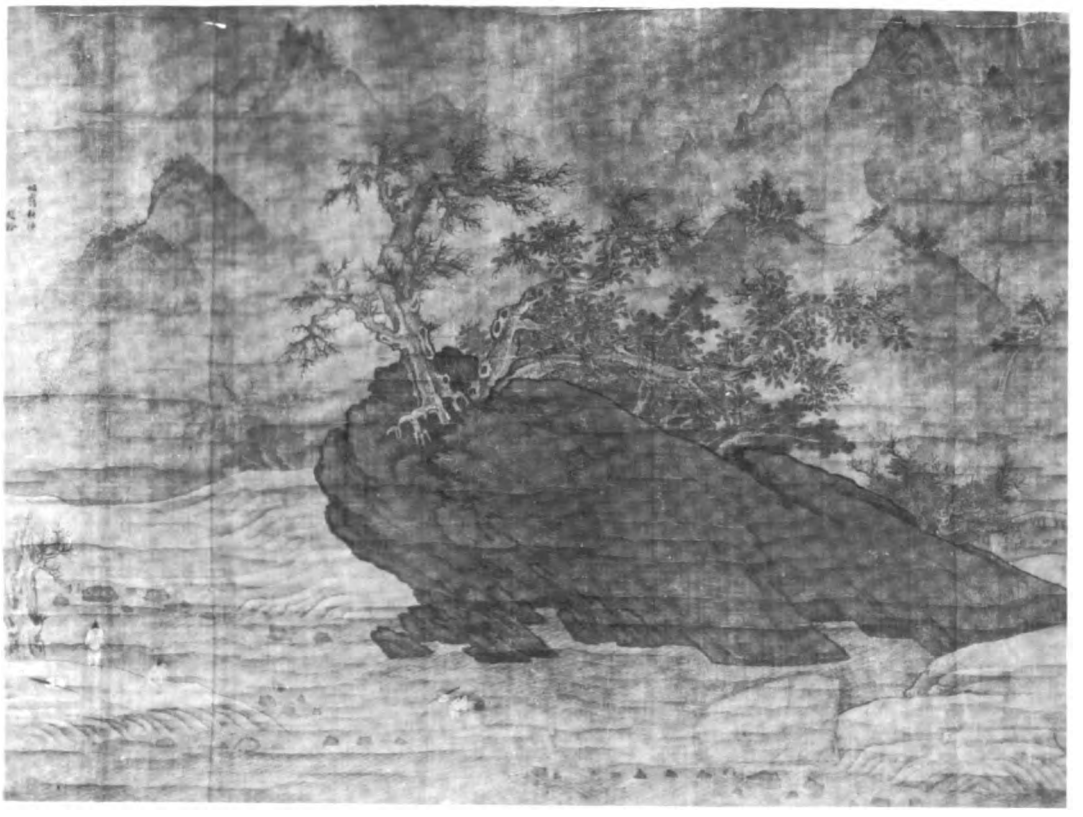

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Plate 18

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Plate 19

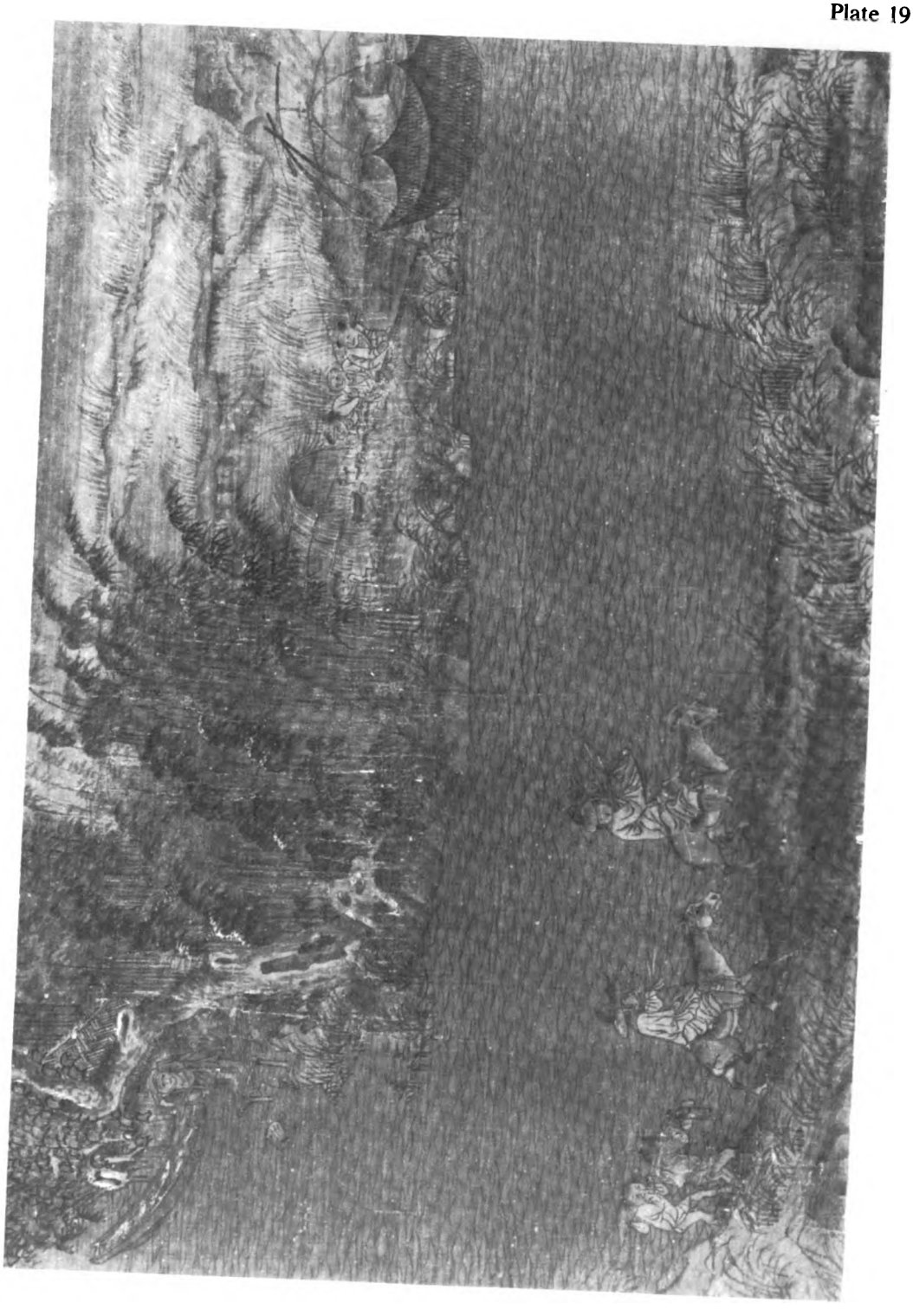

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Plate 20

Pl.20 a ↑

Pl. 20 b
→

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Plate 21

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Plate 22

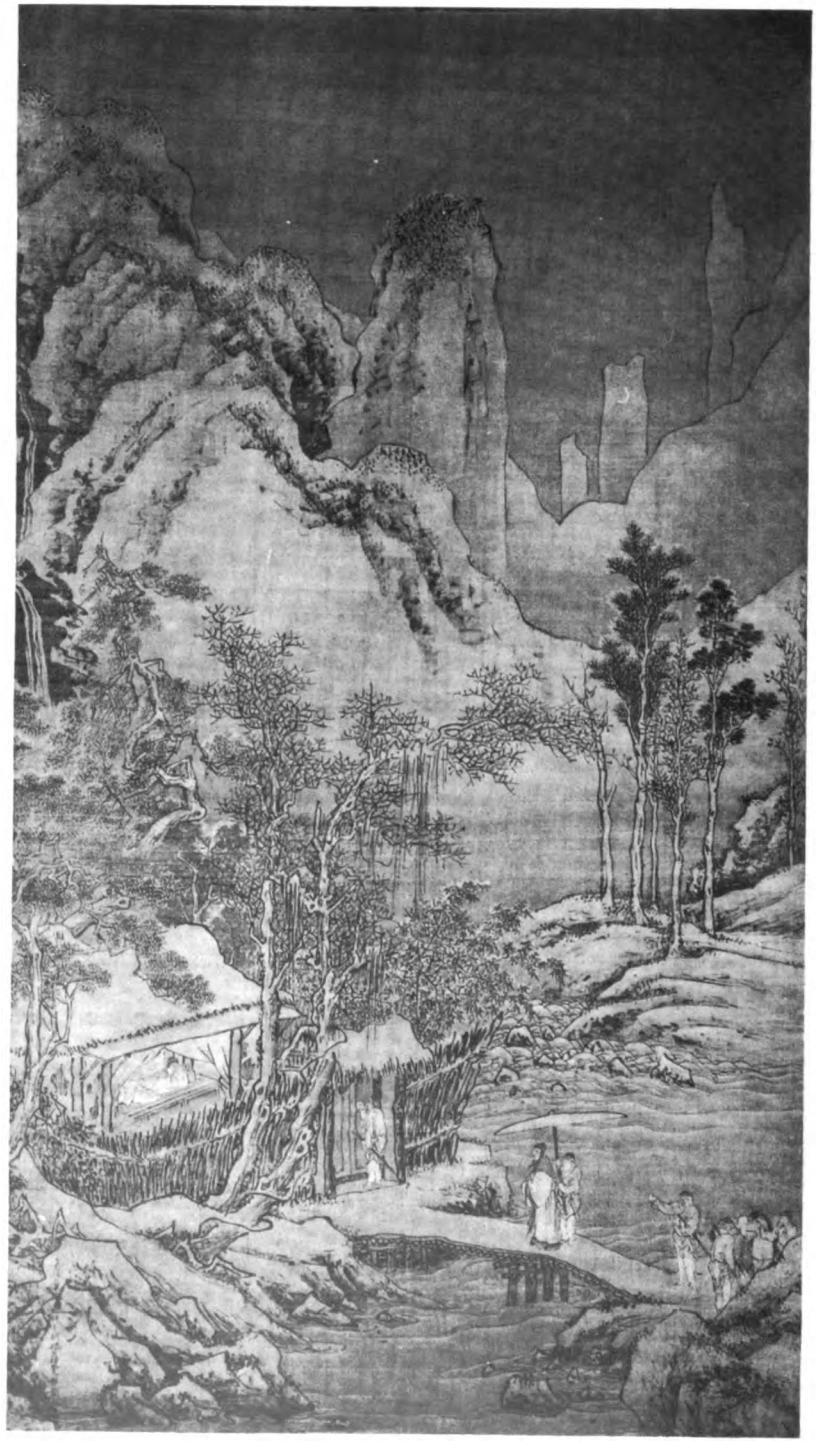

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Plate 23

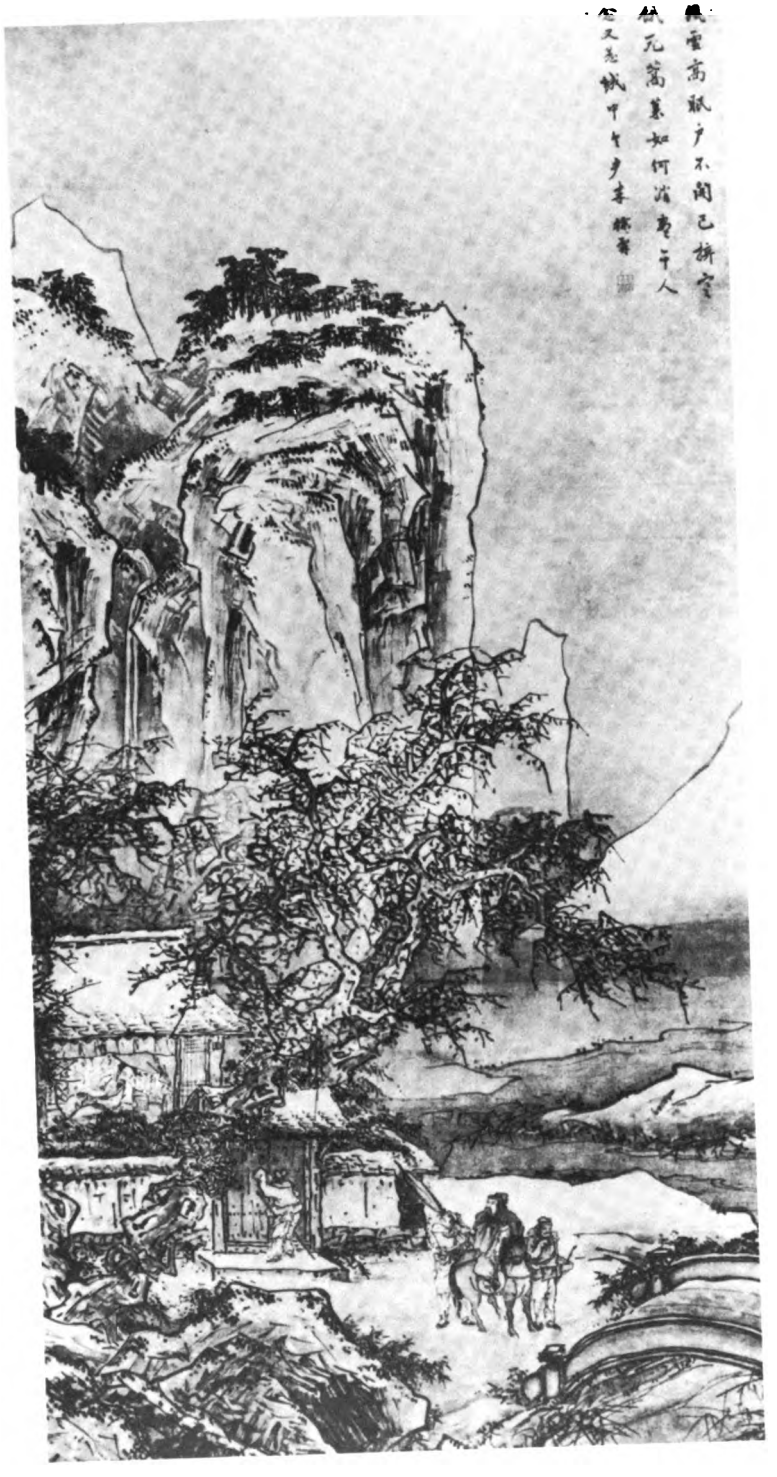

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Plate 24

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Plate 25

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Plate 26

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Plate 27

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Plate 28

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Plate 29

Digitized by Google

Plate 30

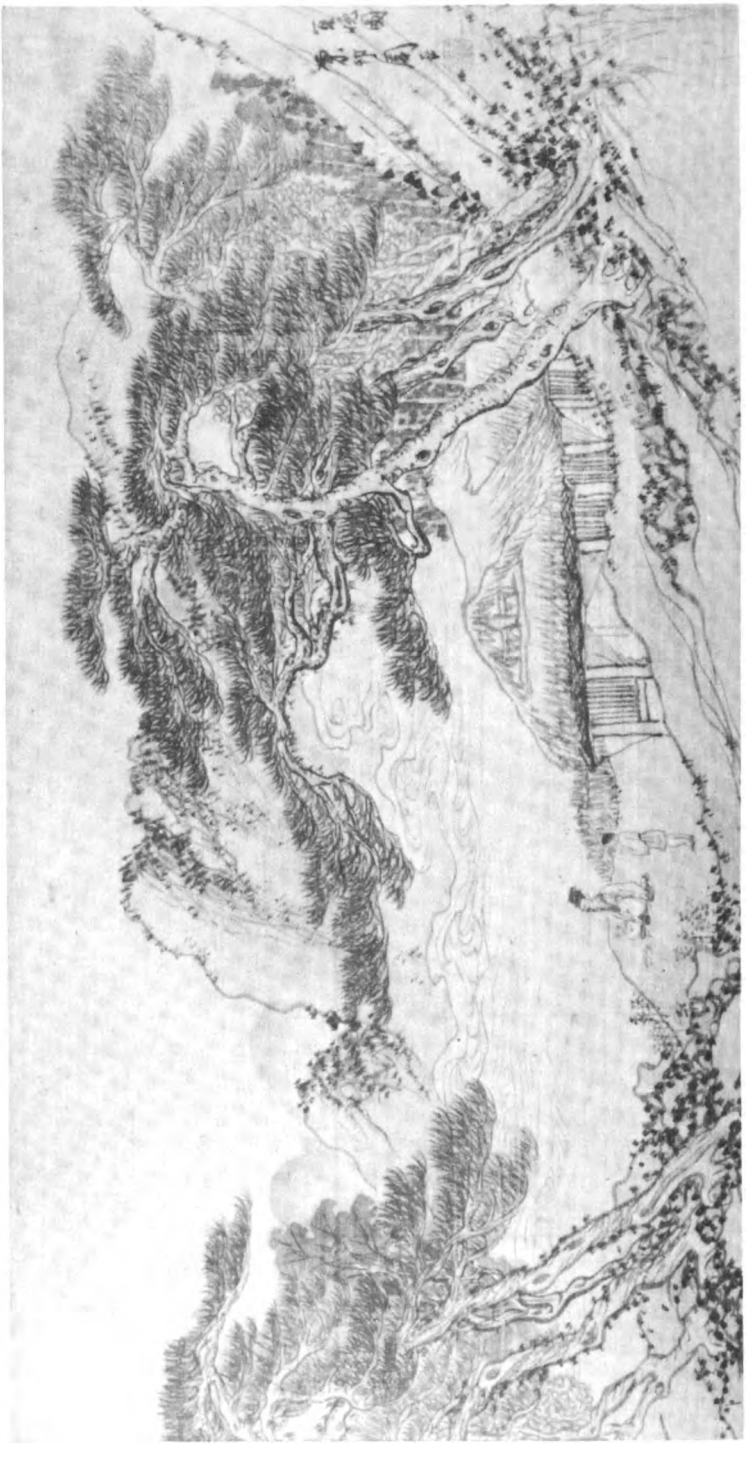

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Plate 31

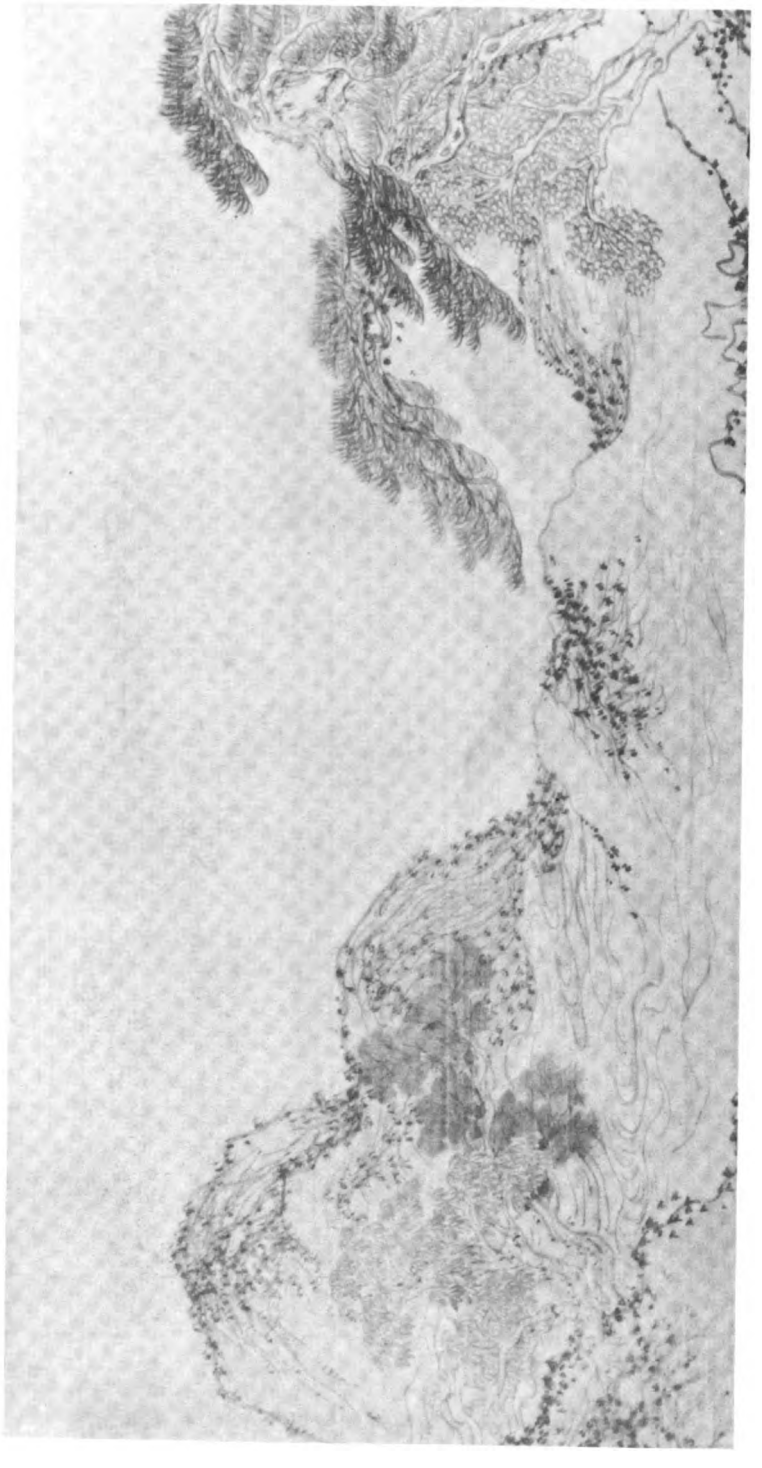

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Plate 32

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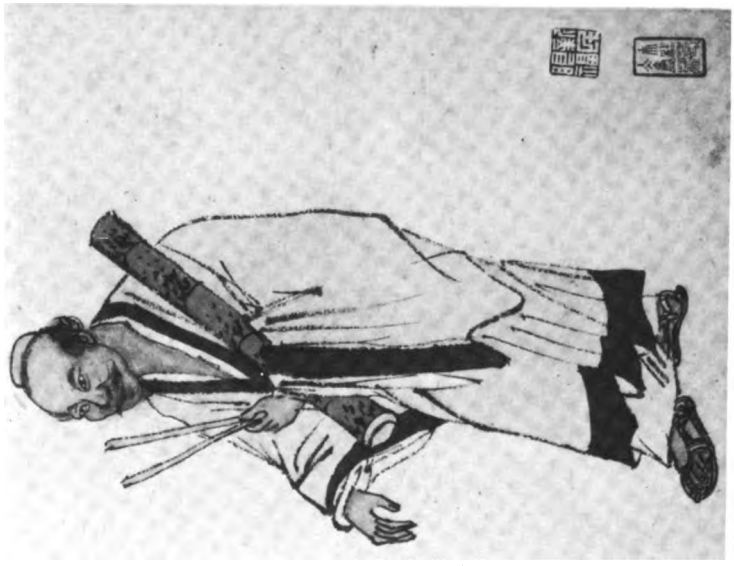

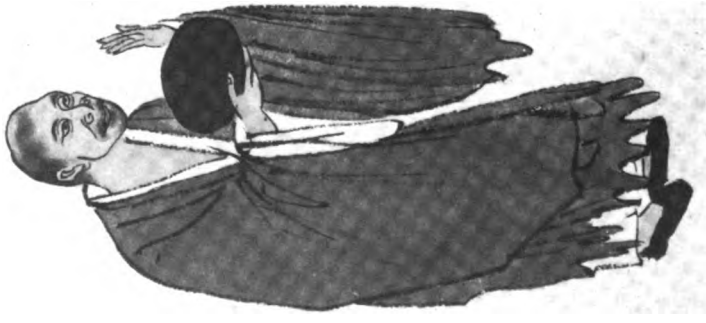

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Plate 34

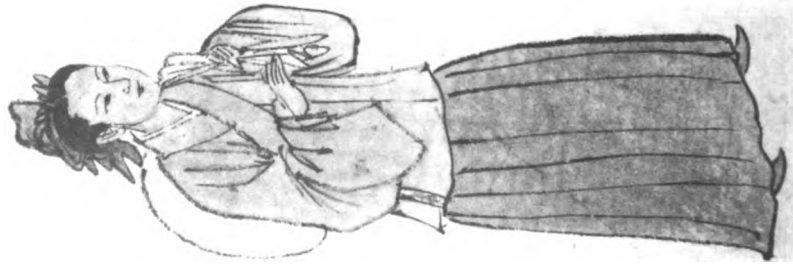

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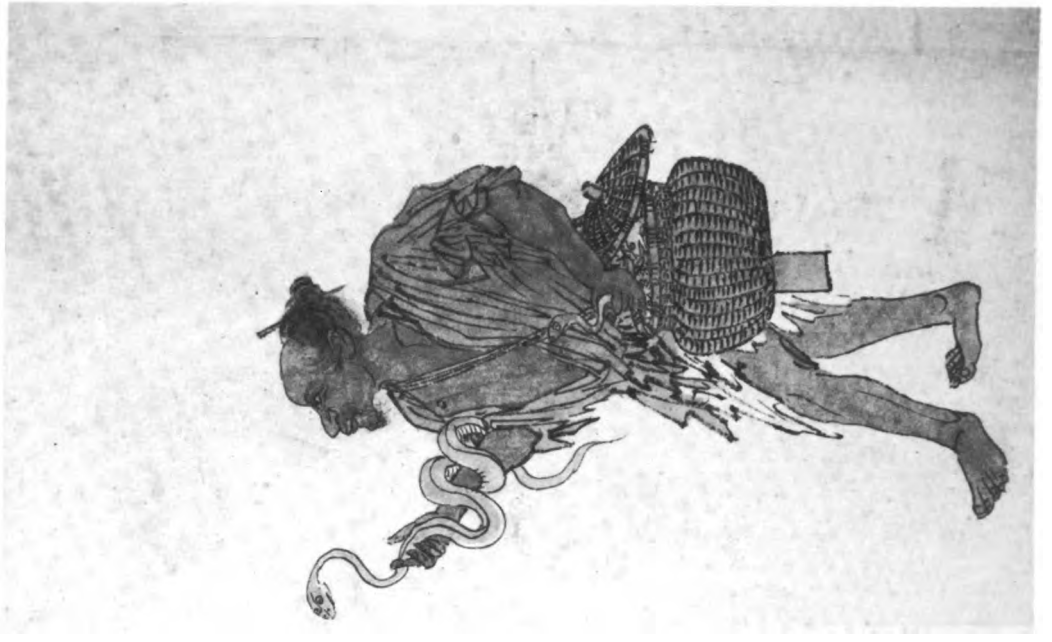
Plate 36



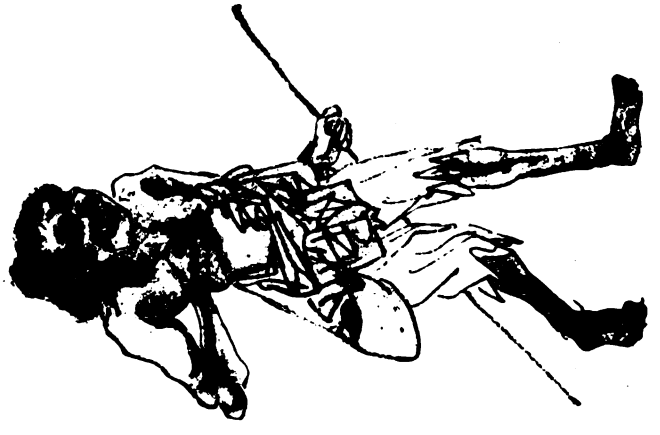


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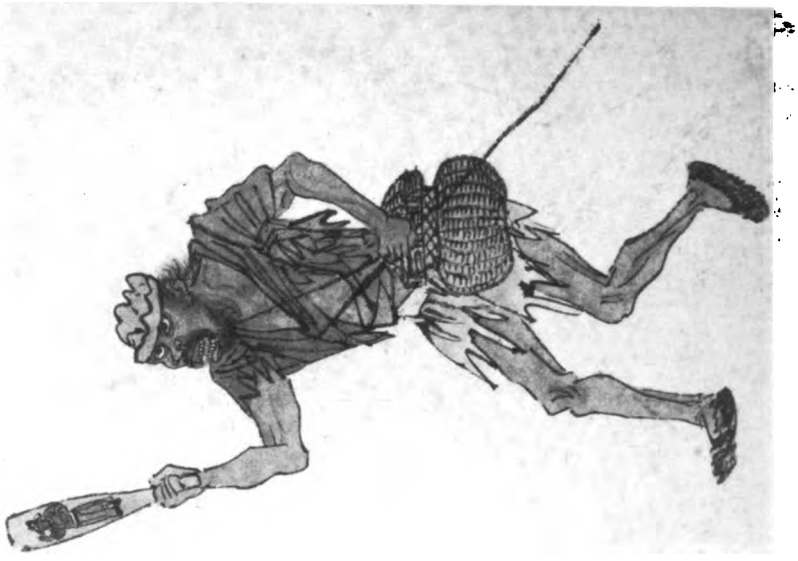
Plate 38



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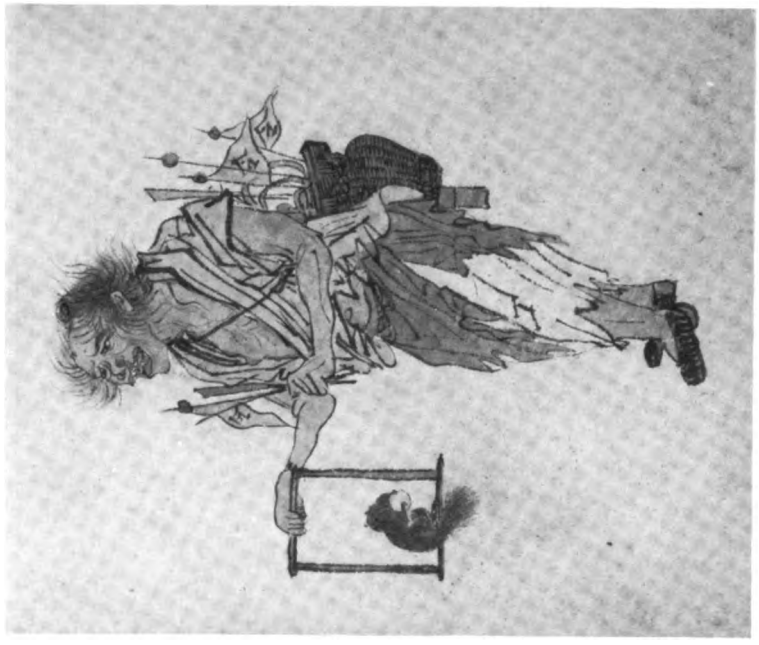

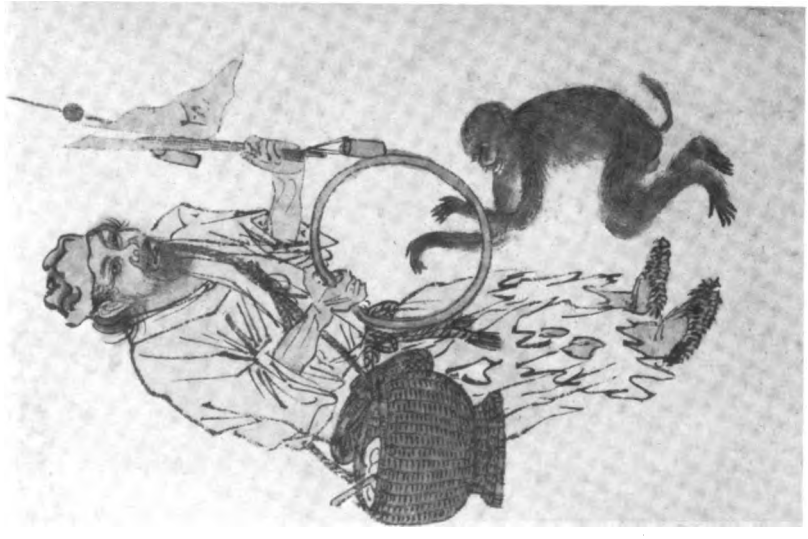

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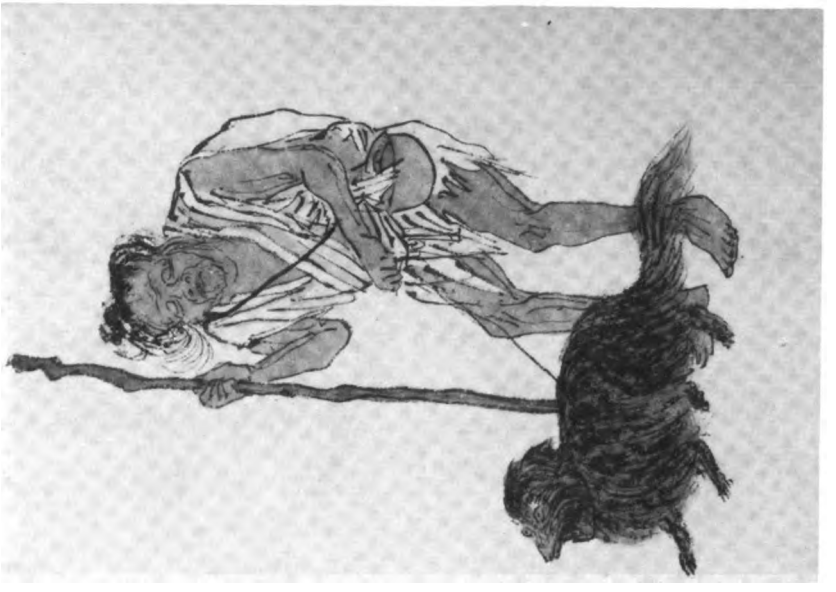

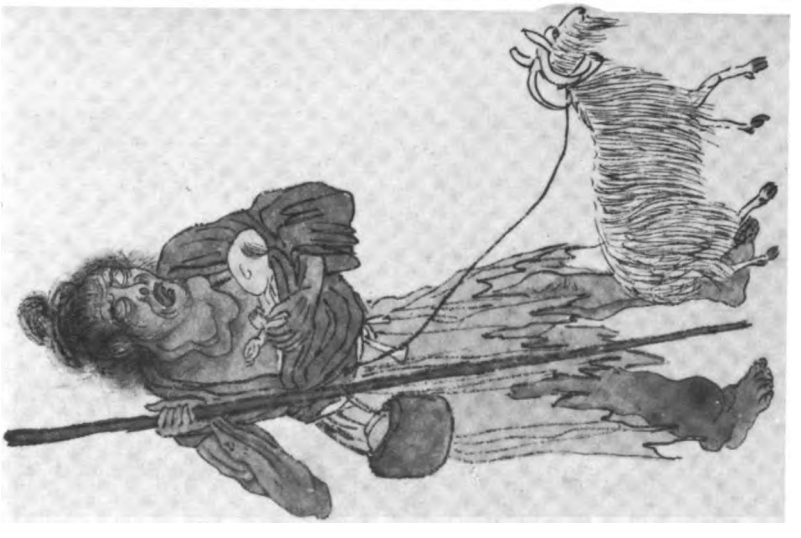

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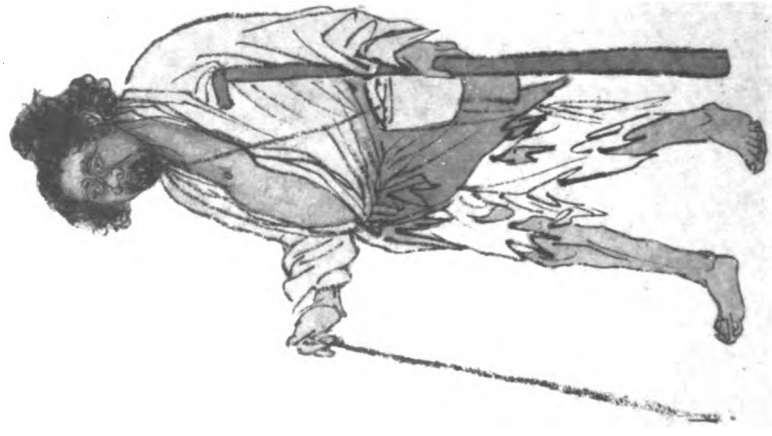
Plate 42



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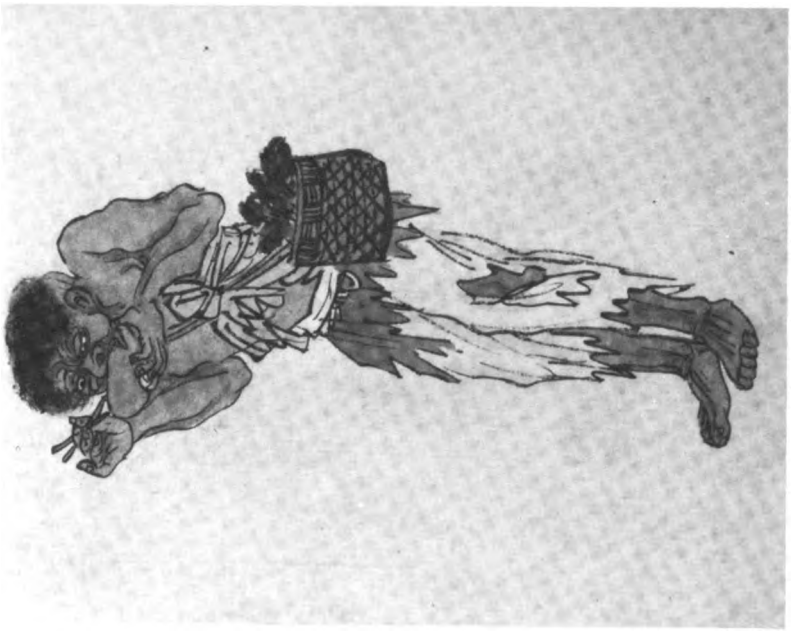
Pl. 43 a



Pl. 43 b

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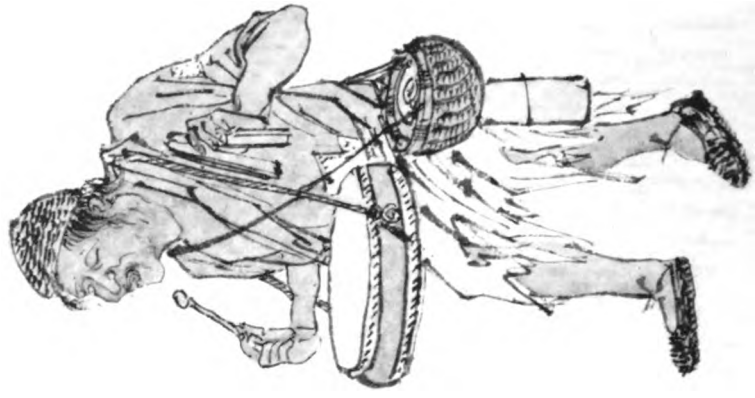
Plate 44



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Pl. 45 a

Pl. 45 b

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Plate 46

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Plate 48

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Plate 49

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Plate 50

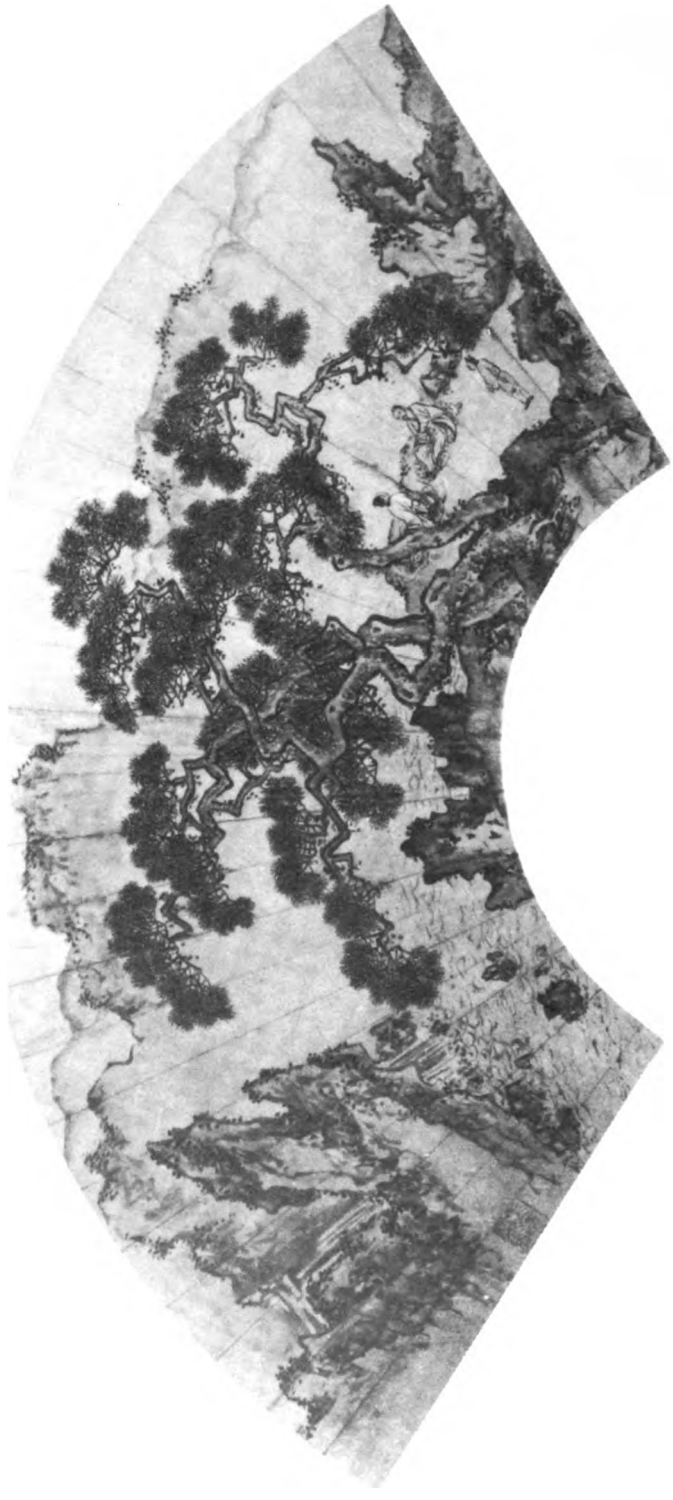

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Plate 52

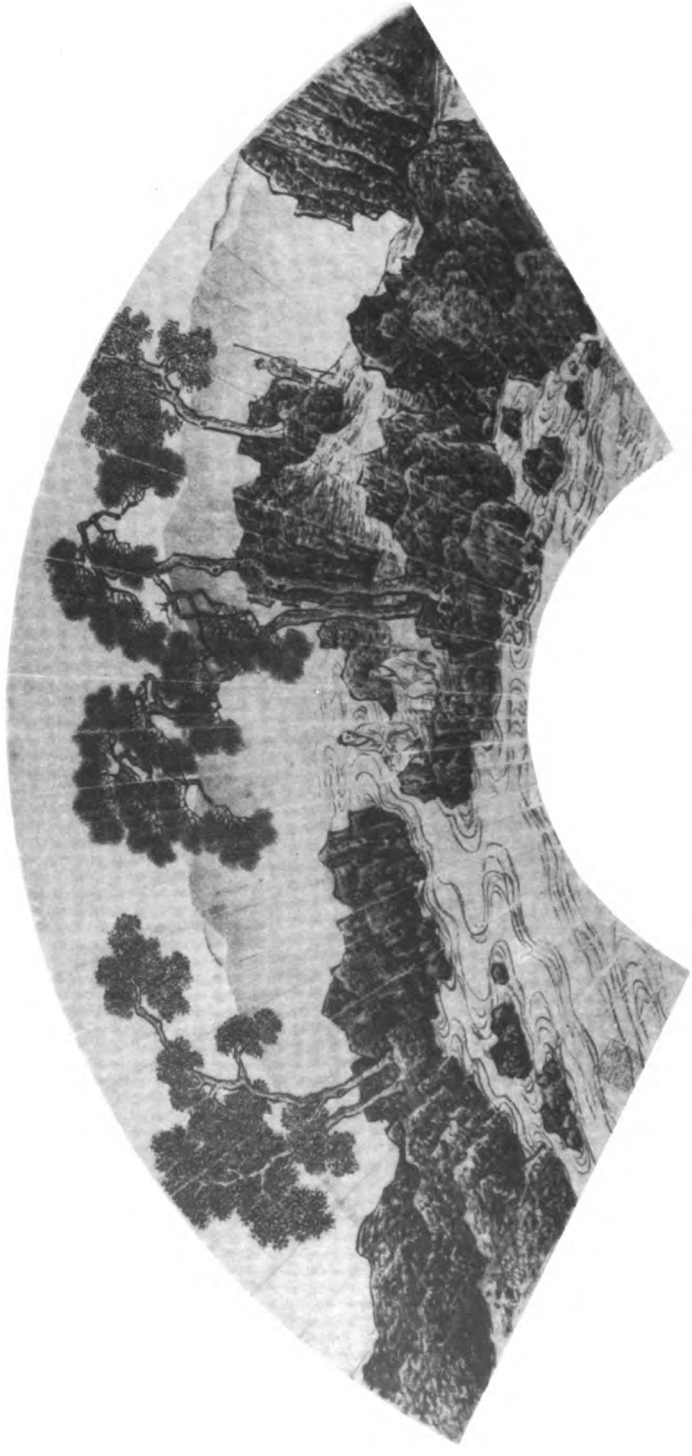

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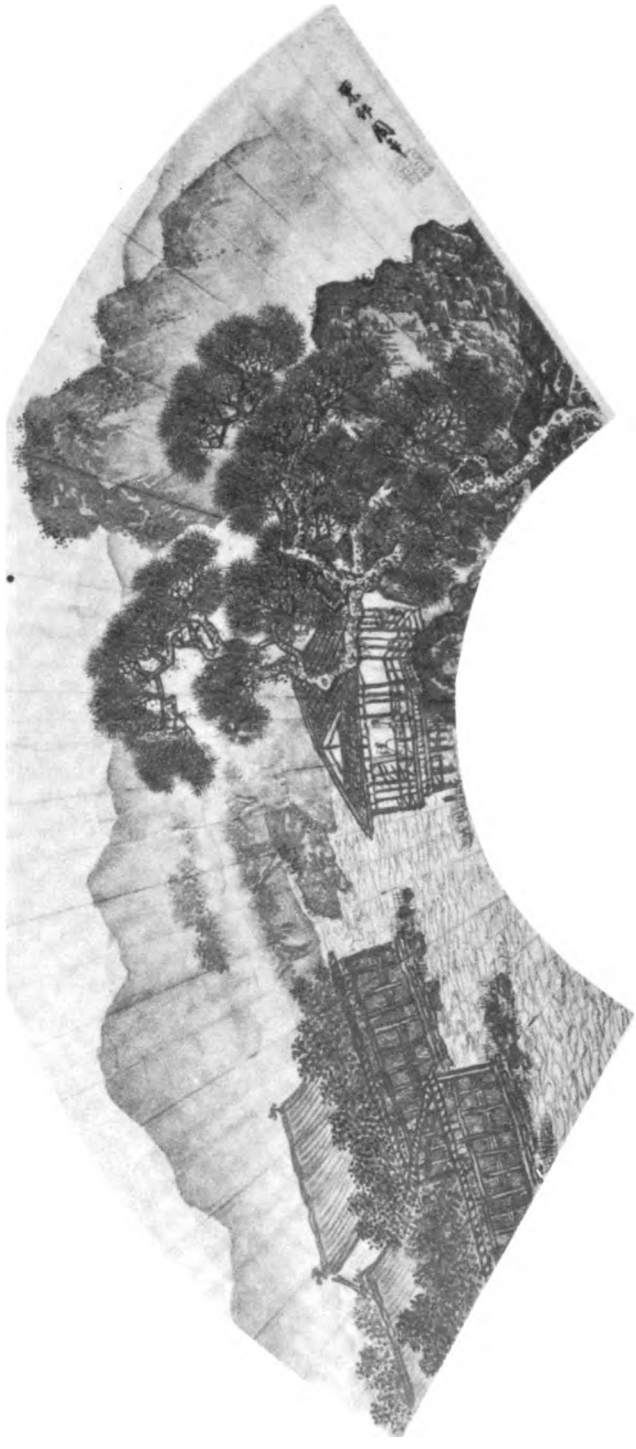
Plate 54



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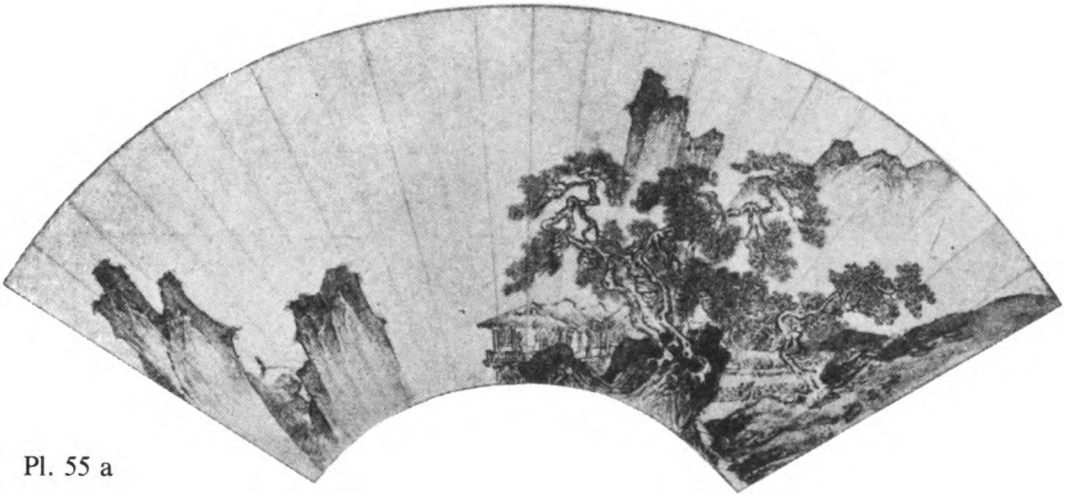

Pl. 55 a

Pl. 55 b

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Plate 56

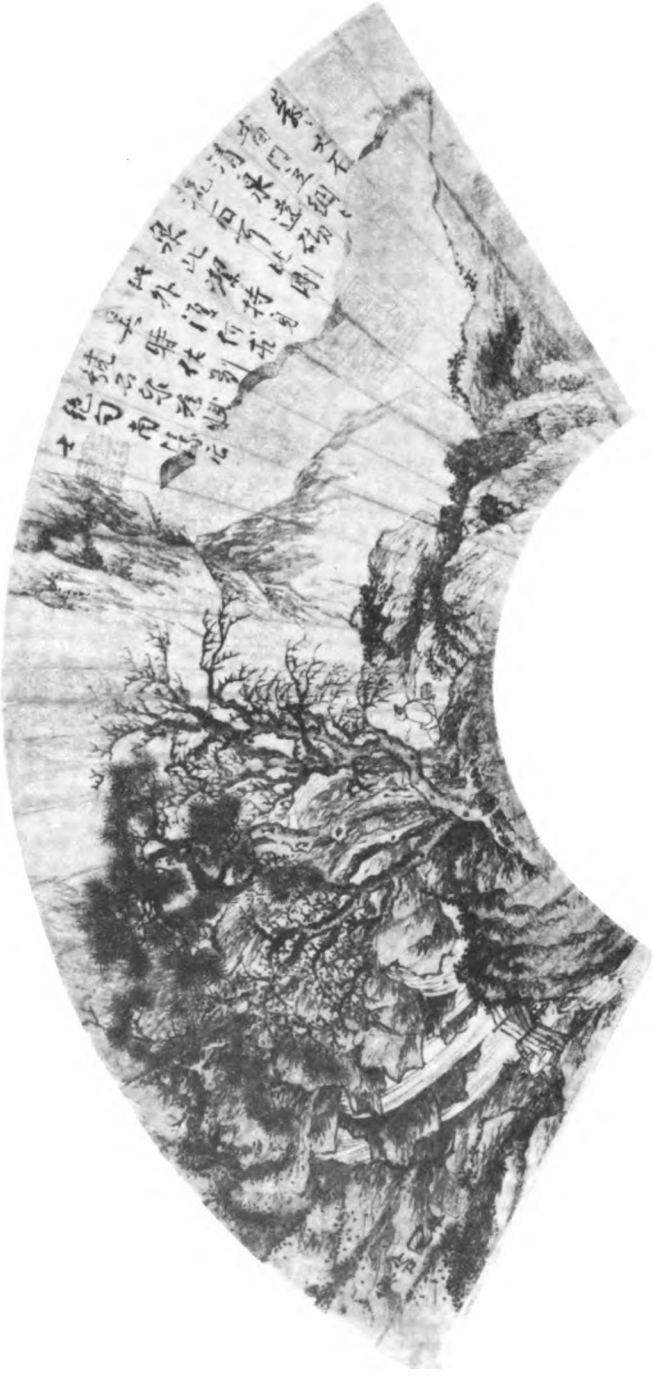

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Plate 57

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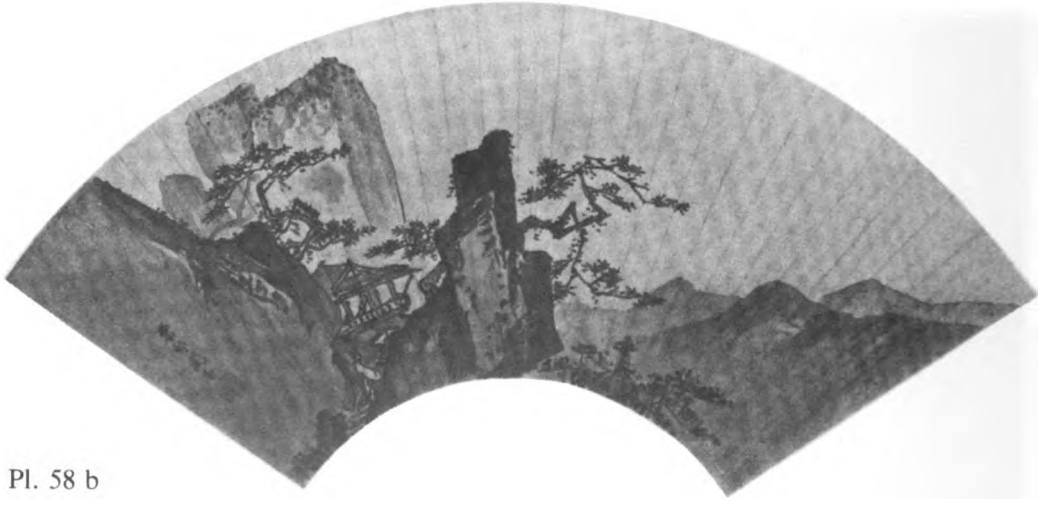
Plate 58

Pl. 58 a



Pl. 58 b

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Plate 59

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Plate 60

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Fig. 1

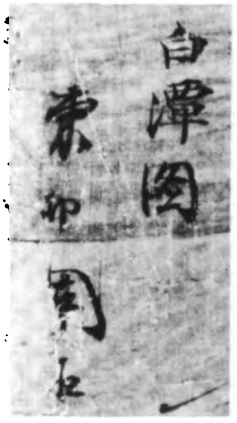

Fig. 2

Fig. 3 a

Fig. 3 b

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

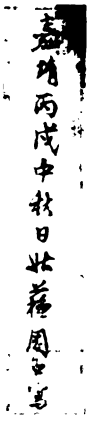

Fig. 7 a

Fig. 7 b

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

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RAIN MAGIC AT ANYANG?

Speculations about two Ritual Bronze Vessels of the Shang Dynasty Filled with Revolving Dragons.

by

Peter Glum

Among the many ritual bronze vessels found in the royal tombs of the Shang dynasty at Anyang, [1]) is a pair of *yu* that is particularly outstanding. The two vessels, excavated from tomb no. 1005 at Xibeigang (Fig. 1-2) are virtually identical in form and décor. The bowls have a diameter of about 25.7 cm at the lip and are set on a ring foot with a diameter of 16,3 cm at the bottom. They have rope shaped handles. The outside is plain, decorated only with a band of "monoculi" on a ground of squarish spirals placed around the upper part of the wall near the lip, and a closely matching one around the ring foot.

What gives these vessels their unique and extraordinary character, however, is that the inside is not plain and empty in order to be filled with food like that of the ordinary vessels of this type, [2]) but, in the center a pole rises from the bottom. It is surmounted by what Li Chi describes as a flower with six petals. It looks very much like a star, but has four small slits in the center. On the sides of the pole are the diagonally rising frontal portions of four reptilian zoomorphs with a pair of horns on their heads which the archaeologists have named "*long*", -dragons-. Seen from the top, these dragons seem to revolve around the central star-flower in a swastika-like configuration. Similar to many so called dragons found on the lids of the ritual vessels named *guang* (Fig. 4), their bodies are covered with a diamond pattern; the forefeet are omitted, their heads as on most reptilian zoomorphs of this kind seen on other Shang ritual bronze vessels are shorter than those of actual specimens such as crocodiles, lizards or salamanders. Their mouths are open baring pointed teeth, they have small ears and horns. Of particular interest is that two of them have the familiar "bottle horns", while the other two have pointed spiraling horns which look much like the shells of certain fresh water snails that are long and pointed.

Undoubtedly, this is one of the most extraordinary configurations found on any bronze vessel of the Shang, yet it seems to have aroused very little interest.

Contrary to those scholars who believe that the zoomorphic representations appearing on the ritual vessels of the Shang and Zhou only have a decorative function and no symbolic significance whatsoever, I believe that this group

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placed in such an unusual spot as the hollow of a bowl must have a meaning, and most likely even had a special function in a particular rite. I propose the hypothesis that these vessels were used in some magic ritual which was performed with the purpose of obtaining rain.

Of course we do not have any documents from the Shang period that describe such vessels or the rituals they were used in.

All we know from the inscriptions on the oracle bones, the only written documents of the Shang we have, is that in these early times rain was a primary concern, and prayers for it were offered to several deities. In the divination questions incised on the oracle bones, prayers for rain are indeed frequently mentioned.[3]) They also mention that these were often accompanied by sacrifices of cattle and other animals – sometimes even human sacrifices –, and dances.[4]) They were offered to the nature deities and the ancestors of the royal house.

Such prayers were often offered to the supreme god Di, also called Shang Di – usually translated as the God on high –, who was believed to dwell up high in the sky.[5]) According to the oracle bone inscriptions, Di was more powerful than most other deities and could "command" rain, thunder, wind, and drought.[6]) A typical divination inscription of this kind reads as follows: "Is Di going to command rain sufficient for the harvest?"[7]) However, it seems that prayers for rain to Di were never accompanied by dances or sacrifices, although sacrifices to the god Di are mentioned in other inscriptions.[8])

The same prayers for rain were also offered to the god of the Yellow River – the Huang He –, the largest river in the Shang territory usually referred to simply as He – the river. He also was believed to be able to "command" and to withhold rain.[9]) Among the various sacrifices offered to him we find also the sacrifice of a virgin[10]) which according to the *Shiji* was abolished around 400 B.C.[11]) In honor of the god of the river dances for obtaining rain were also frequently performed.[12]) A typical example of the divination inscriptions mentioning these reads as follows: "Shall the king go to the river Jin[13]) and sacrifice three pairs of lambs by burning and three cattle by submersion? Will it rain? Shall the king walk (on foot)?"[14]) or "Shall we perform a dance for the river god, will it then rain?"[15]) or "On the day Xinchou it was asked whether a concubine should be given to the River (He)".[16])

Such rituals were also performed for other river gods.[17])

The same kind of prayers were also addressed to the gods of the holy mountains.[18]) A typical divination reads as follows: "Shall I (the king) go to mount Yue and offer prayers for rain?"[19]) They were also accompanied by either sacrifices or dances.

Somewhat less frequently, it seems, such prayers and sacrifices were also offered to the god of the earth,[20]) to the gods of the four directions,[21]) and the deities of the clouds.[22]) They also received sacrifices, but apparently dances were not performed for them.

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In a single inscription, the sacrifice of a snake to a stellar deity in order to stop the persistent rain is mentioned.[23])

Prayers for rain were also offered to the deities called the "Twin snakes"[24]) who also were honored with dances.

Last not least, such prayers including sacrifices and dances were also frequently offered to the royal ancestors.[25])

Of all these deities only two, Di and the god of the Yellow River, were credited with the power to "command" rain. The other deities apparently had only the power of intercession, and also of prevention perhaps by means of curses.[26])

Some oracle bone inscriptions do not mention any deity but ask only whether a dance should be performed in order to obtain rain.[27]) Frequent mentions of music in these inscriptions tell us that such dances were accompanied by instrumental music.[28])

Although these inscriptions show that two deities, namely Shang Di and the god of the river, were believed to "command" rain, and that quite a few other deities had some influence over it, they do not tell us at all how the Shang visualized these deities.

Likewise, they do not tell us anything about the rising and revolving dragons that appear in the center of the bronze bowl under discussion, and on many other vessels of the Shang. Yet it appears to be quite clear that the Shang people had the concept: "dragon". For, the specialists on Shang epigraphy all agree that one of the pictographs appearing in the oracle inscriptions which looks like the picture of a snake with a large protuberance on its head, perhaps a crest, or a horn, is the prototype of the character for the word *long* – dragon –, still used today.[29])

On the other hand, the Shang imagined the demon of drought in human form as a hunch-back, and in times of drought sacrificed a hunch-back by burning in order to obtain rain.[30]) Such a sacrifice is still mentioned in the *Zuo Zhuan* in the year 639 B.C. This ritual was later replaced by exposing a hunch-back or a shaman to the heat of the sun.[31])

The brief records of sacrifices, dances and deities on the oracle bones are probably incomplete, and omit a great many minor rites or magic performances. Therefore it is important to note that some of the rites mentioned in the inscriptions of the Shang must have been still widely practised in Han times, for they are discussed at length by the sceptic philosopher Wang Chong (A.D.27–ca 100) in his famous *Lun Heng*-Critical Essays – written in A.D.82-83.[32]) In the chapter on the rain sacrifice – *Mingyu*, he says among other things:

"From the *Taishan* it rains over the whole empire, from small mountains over states and cities. Such being the case, is the great Rain Sacrifice an offering to the mountains perhaps? Were it really so, it would be ineffectual for the following reason: – Water in different rivers and differing in height by some inches or lines, does not run together, unless led through artificial channels, nor mix, unless, by digging a common waterlevel be produced. Suppose that a ruler of men were to pray and

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sacrifice on the banks of a river, would it be in his power to cause water of a higher level to mix with other water below?"[33])

Later, discussing the rain sacrifice of the *Chunqiu* – Spring and Autumn Annals –, [34]) he quotes:

"Zeng Xi, in reply to a question of *Confucius* as to his wishes said: "At the eve of spring, when the spring dress is ready, along with five or six young men who had assumed the cap, and six or seven boys, I would dash through the *Yi*, carol among the dancing performers of the rain sacrifice, and with songs make my offering."

Then Wang Chong goes on and explains:

"In Lu they used to hold the rain sacrifice on the banks of the *Yi*. The "eve" is synonymous with late. Spring denotes the fourth moon; that the spring dress is ready means to say that the dress for the fourth moon is ready. Young men with caps and boys are those gamboling at the rain sacrifice. To dash through the *Yi* signifies to wade through its water *in imitation of dragons rising from the water*. To carol among the dancing performers of the rain sacrifice is the same as to sing. With songs to make offerings means to sing hymns, and make some oblation for the sacrifice i.e., to sing and sacrifice..[35])

Near the end of the same chapter he says:

"While the fluids of the year are in harmony, no calamities ensue; still they prepare the rain sacrifice. The worship of the "Ling" constellation is a very ancient custom, moreover the fluid of the year may suddenly change, and freshets and droughts are not subject to time, which accounts for the extreme fear of the ruler of men. Therefore, in addition to the oblations made to the "Ling" constellation, they still offer the rain sacrifice with the idea that, should the former rites have been unsufficient, the deficiency may be supplemented by repeating the sacrifice on a second day, and with a view to making good again the disaster caused by the calamity, and being rewarded with an abundant harvest ..."[36])

In the chapter devoted to sacrifices, – *Jiyi* –, he says moreover, referring to the *Liji*, – Book of Rites –:

"According to the *Liji* the emperor sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, the feudal princes to the Mountains and Rivers, ..."[37])

and further on in the same chapter:

"The offerings to the *Ling* constellation are for the sake of water and drought. In the *Liji* their ancient name is rain sacrifices."[38])

Thus, in Wang Chong's time, the same sacrifices for rain performed by the Shang, addressed to the mountains, the rivers and one of the constellations were

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still offered to the same deities. Moreover, in the context of the sacrifice to the river, and this is significant, he mentions "the rising dragons". Apparently, the wading of the boys through the river was some kind of symbolic performance, perhaps even a sort of dance. Elsewhere, Wang Chong also discusses clay idols of the dragon, used for attracting rain which were still used in the beginning of our century.[39])

Obviously, some of these rites were still performed in Tang times for they are described by the famous poet Du Fu (A.D.712-770) in one of his poems:"

Thunder

Due to the great drought, mountains and hills are parched.
The South is a land of swamp fevers.
The disaster has made the work in the fields harder than ever.
In these parts *sorcerers must dance and sacrifice for rain.*
The gorges echo with the beating of drums
Yet the sacred dragon has not been heard or seen.
All the bowing and bending before the *clay dragons* was in vain.
They sigh and moan; masters and people are suffering.
The grain tax cannot be paid, the gap cannot be filled
Therefore old men look up to Heaven and cry aloud
Whom could one tell about the suffering and anguish?
We hear that of old a *weakling was exposed to the burning sun*
But the flogging of the sorcerer cannot have been the custom
of antiquity.[40])

A century later, the poet Bo Juyi (A.D.772-846) still found it necessary to combat such superstitious performances by writing a satirical poem about sacrifices to the dragon at a pool. This poem has been translated by A. Waley as follows:

The Dragon of the Black Pool
A Satire

Deep the waters of the Black Pool, coloured like ink:
They say a Holy Dragon lives there, whom men have never seen.
Beside the Pool they have built a shrine; the authorities have established a ritual;
A dragon by itself remains a dragon, but men can make it a god.
Prosperity and disaster, rain and drought, plagues and pestilences
By the village people were all regarded as the Sacred Dragon's doing.
They all made offerings of sucking-pig and poured libations of wine
The morning prayers and evening gifts depended on a "medium's" advice.
When the dragon comes, ah!
The wind stirs and sighs
Paper money thrown, ah!
Silk umbrellas waved.
When the dragon goes, ah!
The wind also – still.

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Incense-fire dies, ah!
The cups and vessels are cold.
Meats lie stacked on the rocks of the Pool's shore;
Wine flows on the grass in front of the shrine.
I do not know, of all those offerings, how much the Dragon eats;
But the mice of the woods and the foxes of the hills are
continually drunk and sated.
Why are the foxes so lucky
What have the sucking pigs done,
That year by year *they* should be killed, merely to glut the foxes? That the foxes are robbing the Sacred Dragon and eating His sucking-pig,
Beneath the nine-fold depth of His pool, does He know or not?"[41])

We might mention here that fifty years ago, a black dragon was still worshipped at a pool, named the black dragon pool, right on the summit of Huashan, the sacred mountain of the West in Shaanxi. In times of draught the farmers ascended the mountain and offered prayer for rain at the pool. According to the *Shujing*, the legendary emperor Shun already performed sacrifices on this mountain.[42])

Thus we see that even under the Tang, rain dances and exposing a weakling to the sun, rites of Shang times, though no longer state rituals were still practised in the country side in order to obtain rain. Likewise sacrifices to the dragon of probably equally ancient origin, and documented since Han times, were also still performed under the Tang and up to the present century.

Thus, it seems possible to assume that other magic rituals for obtaining rain, practised in Tang times may be equally old, even though the oracle inscriptions of the Shang do not mention them.[43]) This seems even more likely when we read descriptions of rain magic that contain several features which appear on our pair of bronze bowls with revolving dragons of reptilian form (Fig. 1-3).

Two such accounts appear in the *Tangdai Congshu*, a compendium of novels, tales and anecdotes attributed to famous authors of the Tang that is rich in stories referring to popular religion, superstitions and the like.

The first one is described in a record of the reign of the emperor Xuan Zong, (r. A.D. 713–756), the *Ci Liushi Jiu Wen* – Old records of the younger Liu – by Liu Fang, committed to writing in its present form by the famous Li Deyu (A.D. 787-849), purportedly from memory because no copy of the book could be found. There we read:

"Ming Huang (A.D.713–756) visited Luoyang at a time when the weather was very hot and dry. In the temple of the Wise and Good there lived an Indian priest from Gandhara, named Wuwei, who knew how to evoke the dragon and cause rain. The emperor sent Gao Lishi in haste to summon Wuwei. But the priest declared that the heat was seasonable and that to summon the dragon would result in fierce storms which would do much damage. The emperor pleaded that the people were suffering and that rain would cheer them, even if accompanied by roaring winds and crashing thunder. So Wuwei had perforce to agree. Solemn preparations were made by the proper officers,

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banners, scrolls, and images being set out. The priest smiled mockingly. "This will not bring rain," he said, and ordered the removal of everything save one bowl of water. Stirring the water with a small knife he repeated his incantations many hundreds of times. Presently something in the likeness of a dragon appeared, about the size of a finger and red, its head rising slightly above the surface of the water. Slowly it disappeared, and Wuwei stirred the water again muttering a spell three times. A white vapour rose from the bowl, like smoke from a furnace, to a height of several feet and travelled through the chapel until the tip was outside. "Go! go quickly!" cried the priest to Gao. "Go, for rain is coming!" Gao galloped away to tell the emperor. Looking back he saw a white cloud like a roll of white silk pouring out from the chapel. Then darkness fell and a gale sprang up with thunder and rain. Just as Gao reached the south side of the Tianjin Bridge the storm overtook him, uprooting great trees along the road, so that by the time he approached the emperor to make his report he was wet through ..."[44]

The second practice is reported in a story from the *Youyang Zazu* – Miscellany of Youyang – a collection of varia attributed to Duan Chengshi (died A.D. 863). It reads as follows:

"During the second year that Wang Yanwei was in Bianzhou the summer was very dry. Prince Yuan's tutor, Ji, was in Bian at the time so Wang gave a feast for him, and during the meal Wang began to talk of the drought. "If you want rain it can easily be arranged," replied Ji, who was already drunk. "You just take four lizards and two ten-gallon earthenware jars. Fill the jars with water and put the lizards in each; then close the mouths of the jars with wood and plaster them over with mud. Set them in an enclosed place, spread a feast and burn incense both in front of the jars and behind them. Then let ten little boys under the years of age beat on the jars with light bamboos day and night without interruption. "Wang followed theses instructions carefully, and after one day and two nights rain fell in torrents. In olden times people believed that the dragon and the lizard were related."[45])

Looking again at the Shang bronze bowls with the revolving dragons we see that they have several elements in common with the magic rituals described in the Tang stories.

The first text tells us that the priest used a bowl filled with water and that he literally "stirred up a storm" by stirring the water with a knife, and repeated incantations; then finally a small red dragon appeared and vanished again.

The Shang bronze vessels under discussion here are bowls. Inside of them are not merely one but four small bronze dragons. These are represented in a revolving motion which is the same as the movement of stirring. – This does not preclude the possibility that the bowls could have been filled with water, and that the water around the dragons could have been stirred with an instrument, possibly a knife, just as the tale tells us.

The act of stirring the water in order to create rain could be interpreted as a ritual of imitative magic aimed at conjuring up a whirlwind which often brings rain.

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We might note here that a similar motion is also embodied in the so called 'whorl circle', a design that also appears on the Shang bronzes, sometimes lined up below a frieze of dragons on the *jia* vessels, often on top of the horns of the dragons on the lids of the *guang*. On vessels of the Western Zhou it appears often alternating with dragons or birds in friezes.

The second tale also shows several elements that are found in the Shang bowls. The most important one is that it speaks of four lizards[46]) which in our bowls are matched by four dragons. That the four lizards are put into two jars however is different but agrees with the fact that in the bronze bowls we have also two pairs. In the bowls, however, the two pairs are distinguished by their horns. One kind has bottle horns, the other has spiraling pointed horns which look like elongated conch shells. That the jars were beaten with bamboo sticks might well have been in order to cause the lizards to move. Since clay jars are round, this would have resulted again in the same circular revolving motion as the one caused in the other story by the stirring of water, and seen in the dragons of our bronze bowl. Of course, if real lizards had been used, they would have drowned. Thus, it is more likely that amphibians such as salamanders or newts were used, and that here the story is either garbled or the distinction between lizards and salamanders was not very clearly understood. One fact that speaks for the use of salamanders is that they are night animals, and usually seen during the day only when it rains, or at a time when the air is saturated with humidity which is often followed by rain.[47] We should also note that the jars were beaten by under age boys, and recall that Wang Chong tells us that the same young boys played an important part at the rain sacrifices to the river god.

At any rate, we can say that the two stories in the *Tangdai Congshu* are likely to be somewhat garbled accounts of very ancient magic rites designed to conjure up rain which in some parts of China had survived until Tang times.[48])

Thus, in the light of these texts, I think, it can hardly be denied that the four dragons inside the bronze *yu*, are not mere decoration but *do* have a definite meaning connected with a specific religious or magic rite which must have been related to rain.

Of course, unlike the lizards in the tale, the dragons in the bronze bowle are not alive. However, in *A Last Word on Dragons*, one of the two chapters of the *Lunheng* devoted to dragons, our not always so sceptical cynic Wang Chong argues in favor of the efficacy of clay images of dragons for conjuring up rain. Giving a large number of reasons, he writes among other things:

"Prince *Mêng Chang* of *Qi* wished to pass through the gate of *Qin* during the night, but the gate was not yet open. A companion of his imitated the cock-crow, and a veritable cock responded. Since a cock would be roused by a false crow, rain can also be caused by fictitious effigies."[49]) or

"It cannot be said that the fluid of clouds and rain is more intelligent than that of flying kites. Anglers make fishes out of wood, the bodies of which they cover with red varnish. Going to a

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current, they throw them into the water, where they rise in the stream and move. The fish take them for real ones, and all gather round them. A piece of red wood is not a real fish, for fish have blood and possess knowledge. Still they allow themselves to be duped by a semblance. The knowledge of clouds and rain cannot be greater than that of fish. How could they have misgivings, on beholding a clay dragon?"[50] and

"The duke of *Shê* in *Chu* had a penchant for dragons: — on walls, pannels, vases, and goblets he had pictures of dragons painted. A genuine dragon heard of it and came down. Dragons, clouds and rain are of the same fluid, wherefore they can mutually affect each other, following their species. By making pictures, the duke of *Shê* succeeded in bringing down a real dragon. Why should it not be possible, now, to attract clouds and rain?"[51])

If we compare the two texts of the *Tangdai Congshu*, we find that the first one mentions that "something in the likeness of a dragon appeared, about the size of a finger and red, its head rising slightly above the surface of the water ..."

The second text says: "You just take four lizards ..." This brings out the important fact that both dragon and lizard are here related to rain. Moreover, the second text explains: "In olden times people believed that the dragon and the lizard were related."

To this we may add that in Chinese the lizard – *xiyi* –, is also called *shilongzi* – the young of the rock dragon –. The term *shilongzi* is quite old. It appears for instance in the *Shen Nong Bencao Jing*, a pharmacopoeia of the 3rd century A.D. by Wu Pu which seems to be extant only in a later enlarged edition, probably of the 6th or 7th century, for it quotes another such work the *Ming Yi* by Tao Hongjing (451-536 A.D.). In this book, Wu Pu identifies the *shilongzi* with the lizard – *xiyi* –, and the gecko – *shougong* – and quotes another name for it, *shanlong* – mountain dragon – from the *Ming Yi*. Later on, long lists of alternative names are quoted from the *Shuowen* by Xu Shen († 120 A.D. ?), the *Erya*, and other old books. These lists identify the lizard not only with the gecko but also with the *yongyuan* – newt or salamander –, an amphibian that closely resembles a lizard in shape.[53])

This shows that the ancient Chinese did not always clearly distinguish these animals.

Even more interesting in our context is the information given in a later treatise, *the Bencao Gangmu*, compiled by Li Shizhen (1518–1593). Under the heading *Shilongzi* he gives also the names *shanlongzi* and *quanlong* – well dragon – (which should refer rather to a newt or salamander) etc., and adds:

"This animal lives among mountains and rocks; it can spew hail and can cause rain. Therefore it is called *longzi* – child of the dragon."

He quotes Lu Dian (1042–1102) as saying:

"The lizard (yi) is good; when it transforms itself it spews hail. This means that the lizards are yin and yang ..."

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Li also says, perhaps quoting another unspecified source,

"When the sorcerers conjure up rain, they do it with the lizard, to do it with a gecko instead is a very grave mistake."[54])

Taking all this into account, it seems logical to assume that the most likely, and perhaps prehistoric prototype of the dragons seen on Shang bronzes was indeed an amphibious saurian such as the alligator, the Chinese crocodile, perhaps even the giant salamander.[55]) Lizards newts salamanders and geckos, because of their obvious resemblance to these, and to each other, were thus thought to be closely related to them, and so distinctions became blurred.

As long as we don't know exactly whence the Shang came, where the iconography of the bronzes originated, and whether in the warmer climate of prehistoric times crocodilians may have lived in some of the rivers of Northern China, it is impossible to determine which saurian was the prototype, the "real dragon". For even Wang Chong obviously still believed that at least in ancient times real dragons had existed. He repeats that:

"Under the reign of *Yao* and *Shun*, dragons were reared and domesticated and always kept at court. When towards the end of the *Xia* dynasty, the government degenerated, the dragons concealed themselves, and it was not only when Bo Yi had dug his well, that they rose to the clouds."[56])

Obviously Wang Chong was not quite clear about all this himself, but there seems to have been an idea that dragons once did exist, when he says:

"It is reported that when *Zhou* used ivory chopsticks, *Ji Zi* burst into tears. He wept commiserating his excesses. There being ivory chopsticks, there must have been jade cups also. These jade cups and ivory chopsticks were certainly used to hold and to seize dragon liver and unborn leopard. Dragon liver was eatable, but a dragon hard to be found. This being the case, the emperor would frown upon his subordinates. That would bring them into distress, therefore *Ji Zi*'s sympathy.

If the dragon were a spirit, its body could not be killed, and its livers not be eaten. The livers and the unborn young of birds and animals are not the same. Dragon livers and unborn leopard being specially mentioned, man must have eaten them, and thereby learned to appreciate their excellent taste ..."[57])

He also insists that of old dragons were reared in pools by special officials appointed by the court.[58]) Perhaps this was done because in North China, crocodilians had become extinct in the wild.[59]) Maybe for that reason the dragon, bearing the name *long*, became a mythical creature with symbolic attributes such as deer horns, eagle's talons etc. that made him into a universal supernatural being.

On the other hand the Chinese alligator – *tuo* – also called *tuolong*, was still counted as a member of the dragon family, as late as the 16th century. Whether in

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ancient times, it was clearly distinguished from the Chinese crocodile is quite uncertain. Earlier, Wu Pu, under the heading *Tuoyujia*, quotes the *Ming Yi* saying: it lives in the Southern sea, and the *Shuowen,* as saying:

"Its name is *shanyu* – eel fish. Its hide can be used for making drums. It is also named *tuo*; it is a water worm that resembles the lizard. It is longer and larger than the lizard."[61])

More interesting is what Li Shizhen says in the *Bencao Gangmu.* Under the heading *tuolong* we read:

"It is also called *tuoyu,* and *tulong* – earth dragon –."

He quotes a Tang pharmacologist, Chen Canqi as saying:

"What the *Bencao Jing* calls *tuoyu* ought to be called *tuo.* The shape of the *tuo* is like that of the dragon. Its voice can be frightening. Those that are ten feet long can spew forth vapors which become clouds, and bring rain. It is actually a species of dragons; it should not be classified as a fish."

Further on Li quotes a book titled *Bie Lu* which says:

"The scaly *tuoyu* lives in the ocean, ponds, and marshes of the South. It is caught at any time."

Then he quotes Su Song (1020-1101), a scientist of the Song period, who says:

"Nowadays, there are very many in rivers and lakes. Their shape resembles that of the *shougong* – gecko –, and the *lingli* – scaly ant eater –. Its length is ten to twenty feet. On its back and tail it has an armour of scales. At night it roars. The boatmen fear it."

Among other observations about the way it is caught etc., Li adds:

"Its nature is that it is able to fly horizontally but it cannot rise to the sky. Its voice is like a drum. When it roars at night they call it the drumming of the *tuo.* It is also called the night watch of the *tuo.* When the country folk hear it, they predict rain by it ..."

At the end he says that Southerners like to eat its meat.[62]) This reminds us of Wang Chong's statement that Zhouxin, the last emperor of Shang ate dragon liver.

Thus, the alligator (or the crocodile) was described as resembling the dragon, as well as one kind of lizard, the gecko. Like the lizards said to spew hail and cause rain, the alligator was said not only to make sounds like a drum (sounds that resemble thunder), but also to spew forth vapors that turned into clouds, and rain. Moreover, it is called a species of dragon, sometimes called the earth dragon, and perhaps for that reason it is said to be unable to fly up to heaven but

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able to fly horizontally. Finally, the farmers or fishermen predict rain according to the sound of its voice.

Thus, even though some of the sources are very late, the persistence of traditional superstitions linking rain not only with the dragon but also with alligators, lizards, salamanders and the like amounts to circumstantial evidence that such a saurian or amphibian was the prototype of the rain bringing dragon.

On the other hand, the dragon of the Shang bronzes shows by the addition of the horns to the general reptilian appearance and by the shape of the head which is too short that the actual prototype was very ancient and scarcely known to the artists of the Shang.

Of great interest in this context is the fact, noted by Chang Tsung-tung, that the nature deities and the god Di are more frequently mentioned in the earlier oracle bones than in the later ones where the ancestors predominate.[63])

Moreover, on the basis of his studies of oracle bone inscriptions pertaining to the religion and cult of the Shang, Chang notices the difficulties in relating their practices to the ritual vessels which are decorated almost exclusively with fantastic zoomorphs. He says:

> On the one hand, their cult, as we have reconstructed it on the basis of the oracle inscriptions, was focused on the real world and poor in mythical creatures. The central cult was that of their own ancestors conceived as powerful universal deities. The art of the bronzes made for the tombs, on the other hand, represents a religious world full of zoomorphic monsters, which the Shang no longer believed in. In this sense, the art of the ritual bronze vessels would seem to have been already in Shang times but a "survival", i.e. an unorganic and no longer well understood survival of an imagery of the earlier stages of their evolution. Therefore, there is no reason for correcting the results of our palaeographic and philological research on the basis of the iconography of the ritual bronzes."[64])

I have some reservations about the concept of the ancestors as powerful universal deities, and seriously doubt that the bronze vessels were *made* for the tombs. But the idea that the iconography may reflect an earlier stage of the religion of the Shang, or perhaps even of the still earlier Xia, is very intriguing. Furthermore, if we relate it to the greater frequency of the nature gods in the earlier inscriptions, we might surmise that some of these zoomorphic monsters represent older icons of some of these nature deities. Foremost among them is of course again the image of the dragon.

Thus, naturally, the question arises: "could the dragon be the icon of one of the gods worshipped by the Chinese of Shang?" If it does indeed represent a deity, it is obvious that it should represent one of the main deities who had the power to grant the all important rain. We have seen that in the oracle bone inscriptions only Shang Di and the rivergod could "command" rain.

Therefore, I believe, it is not a very far fetched hypothesis to think that the dragon – who in later lore lives in the waters, and whose original prototype may

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have been the amphibious alligator, as the most dreaded and powerful inhabitant of the river – was in prehistoric times worshipped as the god of the river. To him virgins were sacrificed like Andromeda in the mythology of the Greeks, and in his honour rain dances were performed: This is again borne out by several stories from the Tang period such as that of the dragon king of lake Dongting and his daughter who was married to the *son of the god of the river Ching*, whose brother is called the controller of the Qiantang river; the latter appears as a huge red dragon acompanied by peals of thunder, and followed by snow rain and hail.[65]) Perhaps, Wang Chong's report:

"During the Xia time *Kong Jia* was obedient to *Di*, who presented him with a team of dragons from the *Yellow River* and the *Han*, there being a male and a female from each ..."[66])

could be interpreted as a faint echo of such an old worship.

Another fact that speaks in favor of such a hypothesis is that Wang Chong also says:

"Dragons are reptiles which appear sometimes, and then again become invisible, and which sometimes are long and sometimes short. It is their nature to undergo transformations, but not for good, since after a short while, they relapse into their previous state ..."[67])

The statement that they become invisible might indeed be based on the fact that some crocodilians hibernate during the cold season. Compared to the silkworm that turns into a larva inside a cocoon, and then into a butterfly, they do not undergo any real transformation.

Lastly, the fact that some drums were covered with alligator skin points again to the relation established between alligator and rain. If we recall, that Du Fu said: "In these parts there are sorcerers who want to cause rain by their dances, in the gorges (by the river), there is noisy drumming", we see that drums were also played in order to cause rain.[68]) These drums are mentioned earlier in the poem *Ling tai* – Sacred terrace – in the *Book of Odes*, where we read: " ... the alligator-skin drums (sounded) peng peng; the blind (musicians) executed their (work-) performance,"[69]) which takes us back again to 600-800 B.C.[70]) The Kang Xi dictionary explains this:" the sound of the drums, peng peng, imitates the roar of the alligator",[71]) and if we are to believe Waterbury, the alligator indeed roars with a "voice like thunder" before a change in the weather.[72]) This would also explain Li Shizhen's statement which we have mentioned above, that the countryfolk predict rain by its voice. Moreover, the bronze drum in the Sumitomo collection shows that drums of alligator skin were used in Shang times.[73]) Obviously, the drumming on the skin of the alligator representing the river god was an act of both sympathetic (using the skin), and imitative (imitating the roar), magic designed to evoke thunder that would precede the desired rain. Wang Chong also says:

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"As a matter of fact, the thunder and the dragon are of the same kind and mutually attract one another, when set in motion by the forces of nature."[74])

Now, if we accept the notion that the dragon originally, and at least still in Xia or Shang times represented the god of the river, we still have to explain the number of dragons in the ritual bronze bowl, and why they are of two different kinds. Their number is four, the same as that of the lizards in the tale from the *Youyang Zazu*.

In Chinese literature, dragons appear indeed in various numbers, kinds and colors.

We have already seen that emperor Kong Jia of Xia had two pairs of dragons. Furthermore Wang Chong tells us:"

"In the palace of the *Xia* emperors there were always two dragons, but in the last year of this dynasty when its downfall came, they absconded.

However, he also tells us:

"Where the river *Xiang* is seven *li* distant from the city of *Quanling* there are masses of rocks above the river bearing the name of *Yanshi* mountain. The mountain approaches the river from both sides narrowing its passage. Under a protruding cliff the water disappears and forms an unfathomable abyss. There two yellow dragons put in an appearance. They had a length of over sixteen feet and were bigger than horses. To those who looked sharply at them they appeared like those dragons painted in pictures. The people of *Yanshiqiu* all saw them at a distance of some ten steps. They further perceived some animals shaped like colts, bigger and smaller ones, six altogether. They issued from the water and roamed about and played on the shore, being, no doubt, the children of the two dragons. Along with these they were eight in all. After they had stayed out of the water for some time, they again returned to it."[75])

Perhaps, in this case a look at other artifacts of the Shang will be more illuminating, than citing more of the literature.

The greatest variety of dragon images appears on the many bone spatulas excavated from tomb 1001 at Xibeigang, Houjiazhuang, near Anyang,[76]) that is in close proximity and more or less contemporary to the site where the bronze bowls under discussion were found. There we discover the fascinating fact that many of these beautifully carved pieces show two different representations on either side. A good example is the one shown in figure 5 where we see two dragons with bottle horns, their heads seen in frontal view, their bodies wriggling, and covered with large scales, while on the other side we see two dragons that are commonly classified as plumed dragons, shown in side view, both again with a kind of horns on their heads, the smaller one a sort of beak or trunk like excrescence. The same type of plumed monster occurs on many other examples, such as the more elaborate one in figure 6, where we see variations of it on both sides of the spatula. An interesting and rare example is that seen in figure 7 which

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shows two dragons with deer heads and scaly bodies in profile on the obverse, and on the reverse two horned and plumed ones similar to those on the preceding examples.

In all three, and many other examples, we have four dragons, in two of them we see pairs of two different kinds. That the plumed kind is also a dragon and not a bird,[77]) is not only borne out by the variations seen in figure 6 but also by comparison with the birds on other pieces we shall see later. An interesting question is whether the so-called monoculous which we see for instance on the decorative friezes around the bronze bowls under discussion is just a simplified version of this plumed dragon. If this is so, this minimal version reduced to the bare essentials appears in front of the dragon with bottle horns in frontal view on figure 8, where the backside shows a hornless dragon, also in front view, facing a "square with crescents" which one might also relate to the star or flower with eight points or petals in the center of our bowl.[78]) In most examples the background is filled with small spirals, the so called *lei wen* – thunder design. Only the back sides of the last two, figures 7 and 8 do not show it. An exceptional example showing three dragons of either type on the obverse and reverse is figure 9. That the plumed or winged dragon can also have bottle horns is shown in the example of figure 10.

Another example, Figure 11 shows two plumed dragons on one side, and a bird with long tail plumes surrounded by baby dragons a fish and whorl circles. Here the whorl circle has six whorls, in other more fragmentary examples five or four. The whorl circle is usually interpreted as having a celestial and meteorological meaning which of course, everything except the fish would seem to indicate here. In the oracle bone script single whorls appear both in the pictographs for cloud and for whirlwind.[79]) Thus, we might think that the sky is here supposed to be full of water, indicated by the fish and clouds (whorl circles), and small snakes. Indeed Wang Chong tells us:

"Serpents are a species similar to dragons. When serpents or dragons make their appearance, clouds and rain arrive, upon their arrival there is thunder and lightning ..."

and "Fish, though living in the water, yet follow the clouds and the rain flying, and riding on them ascend to Heaven. The dragon belongs to the class of fish, it rides on thunder and lightning in the same way as the fish fly. For following the clouds and the rain, fish are not considered to be spirits, the dragons alone are called spirits because of their riding on thunder and lightning. This common belief is contrary to truth.

All the creatures in the world have their peculiar vehicles: – The water serpents ride on the fog, the dragons on the clouds and birds on the wind. To call the dragon alone a spirit, because it is seen riding on the clouds, would not be in accordance with it's real nature, and would only detract from its skill."[80])

Thus, we can hardly doubt that on the bone we see a picture of heaven in turmoil, the way the Shang imagined it, and popular belief still saw it under the Han (Fig. 11).

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Curiously enough, the combination of a single large dragon with bottle horn, a diamond pattern, a crest, and possibly something like short plumes occurs several times combined with a reverse of two or even three dragons of the plumy variety. Figure 12 is a magnificent example of this scheme. Significantly a dragon with bottle horns, and scales flanked by two fishes happens to be incised on the bottom of the famous Tiger *you* in the Sumitomo collection, shown here on figure 13. This would perhaps show the dragon as a creature of the terrestial waters, because all symbols indicating a celestial environment are lacking. Yet, the most intriguing example is the fragment of a spatula seen in figure 14, showing the rump of a dragon – the head is lost – covered not with diamonds or scales but with whorl circles. Emanating from it on both sides are zigzag lines. On the reverse, we see two crested birds with long tail plumes among whorl circles. An example of the same with a head with crests or plumes is in the Royal Ontario Museum Toronto and reproduced by White, who says that the zigzag suggests water.[81]) I heartily disagree, since in the context it seems much more likely that the zigzag represents lightning. This I think really may represent a celestial rain dragon "riding on thunder and lightning".

Obviously, all this is very beautiful in appearance, but also a bit confusing. Some of the differences in style may be due to the possibility that the bone implements found in the tomb are not all exactly from the same period, as seems fairly certain for the bronzes. Moreover, the styles of the bone carvers may have followed traditions independent of the art of bronze casting; however, I think, two crucial facts emerge clearly, namely the plumed dragon, and the dragon with the whorl circles. Feathers mean flying, and it seems certain that the whorl circle also denotes a celestial quality. Thus it seems that the idea of a celestial dragon or a dragon rising to and perhaps even dwelling in the sky is as ancient as Shang times.

This bears out the words of the *Yijing*: "the clouds follow the dragon."[82])

Even Wang Chong repeats again and again:

"At present in midsummer, when thunder and rain appear simultaneously, dragons frequently rise on clouds. There being a certain relation between clouds and dragons, the dragon rides on clouds and rain ..."[83])

And in his chapter on dragons he says:

"According to the dragon's nature its real abode is Heaven. Being there it certainly must have offspring. There would be no reason why it should be on earth again ..."

And further on:

"And in books we read: "Where the mountains are highest, the rain clouds rise, and where the water is deepest, the different species of dragons are born."[84])

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And again:

"*Shen Zi* informs us that the flying dragons mount the clouds, and that the soaring serpents ramble through the fog. When the clouds disperse and the rain ceases, they are like earthworms and ants.[85]9

At first it seems strange indeed that a reptilian deity of the waters should come to be imagined in the sky and flying. However, it becomes much easier to understand this when we realize that in Chinese astronomy there was a river in the sky. What in Graeco Roman terms is named the Milky Way, was called the River of Heaven by the Chinese. This name appears with some variations such as the Heavenly He, the Silver Han, the Starry Han etc. throughout Chinese literature. The earliest references occur in the *Book of Odes*, where it is called the Heavenly Han, and the Cloudy Han.[87])

But there may be even more to it than meets the eye now. One of the poems in the *Da ya* section of the Odes bears the title *Yun Han* — the Han of Clouds —. In Karlgren's translation the beginning of it reads as follows:

"Bright is that Heavenly Han river, it shines and revolves in the sky; the king says; Alas, what guilt rests on the present man Heaven sends down death and disorder, famine comes repeatedly; there are no Spirits to which sacrifices are not made, we do not grudge those victims; the *gui* jades and *bi* jades are exhausted, why does nobody listen to us.

The drought is excessive, it is sultry and thundery and exceedingly hot; we have not ceased offering the yin and si sacrifices; from the suburban altar we have gone to the temple hall; to the powers above and below we have offered up and buried (sacrificial gifts); there are no Spirits which we have not honoured; but Hou Ji is powerless, and Shang Di does not favour us; he wastes and destroys the earth below; why does he strike us?"[87])

These are only the first two of eight stanzas, all lamenting the drought.

Obviously, rain is what was lacking, and desperately desired. If we remember that earlier, the Shang frequently offered prayers and sacrifices for rain to the river god and to Di, it is striking that this lament addresses itself first to the river of Heaven, although later on it speaks mostly of the god of Heaven, Shang Di, and a number of other deities. Perhaps despite the preference of the Zhou for the god of Heaven, there remained a faint superstition that in such a litany a river god had to be invoked first. That here it is the river of heaven is extremely interesting indeed in regard to the celestial dragons on the bone spatulas of the Shang.

As far as literary evidence goes the *Book of Odes* is about as early as any, taking us back to between 600 and 800 B.C. Therefore, we hardly have any reason to believe that this concept of a river in the sky could not have existed still earlier in Shang times. Quite logically indeed, the Chinese also refer to falling stars as "flowing stars".

Thus, the reptilian iconography of the Celestial Dragon who provides rain in Chinese mythology of all ages is entirely consistent with the topography of the

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skies seen as a counterpart or even a continuation of the earth.[88]) In this context, it is interesting to note that in the first half of the tenth century A.D., almost two thousand years after the Shang, the painter Jing Hao, in his *Bifa Ji* – Notes on Painting —, compares a gnarled old pine tree to a "coiled dragon trying to reach the River of Heaven".[89])

Although the iconography of the Shang bronzes seems to follow a tradition slightly at variance with that of the bone artifacts, it also shows this element. Most of the dragons shown on the lids of the ritual bronze vessels designated by the name *guang* display on the top surface of their bottle horns a whorl circle or a star both of which most likeley had a meaning connected with celestial or sidereal phenomena (Fig. 4).

Thus, it seems possible indeed that the two different kinds of horns on the dragons in the bronze bowls refer to something in the nature of a celestial dragon and an aquatic or riverine dragon. The horns in shape of a snail allude either to water or to rain. For such pointed snails live in sweet waters. On the other hand, they could also represent land snails stylized into a pointed horn. All snails on land come out when it rains while in dry weather they hide in moist and shaded areas where they are invisible. That we have two dragons of each kind may be due to some seasonal or directional aspect modifying the same monster in relation to the specific rite they were used for.

In conclusion, we may say, that the literary evidence, although mostly of later date, combined with the representations on both the Shang spatulas and the bronze bowls with revolving dragons strongly suggests that the image of the dragon — an image derived from a crocodilian worshipped as the god of the waters in prehistoric times — represented the god of the river.

The rivergod was thought to be able to provide rain which was often announced by the bellowing of the amphibious crocodile, and preceded by the appearance of the rarely visible salamander that looked like a small replica of the crocodile. To the god of the river, who could also bring terrible destruction by floods, virgins were sacrificed and dances accompanied by drumming on magic alligator skin drums were offered in order to obtain rain. Young boys enacted the rising of the rain dragon, in the waters of the river.

The Chinese related the "transformation" in the animal world to the change of the seasons. Thus, the dragon — i.e. originally the crocodile which hibernates — was also intimately connected with the meteorological and sidereal cycle of the year.

Since it was known that rain water rose as mist from the river, and came down from the skies, the river on earth had its counterpart in the river of Heaven. Both were thought of as different aspects of one and the same deity. Thus, the celestial dragon originated in the monstruous saurian god of the river.

When a site was not very close to a river, the dragon worship was enacted by a pool. The bronze bowls with revolving dragons, as the earthenware jars of the

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tale, were magic substitutes for such a dragon pool. In times of draught, the bowls were filled with water, and accompanied by magical incantations the water was stirred until enough of it had splashed over to reveal the rising revolving dragons in order to stir up a storm that would bring down the all important rain.[90])

As a postcript we should mention here that the dragon seems to have been related also to the netherworld.

Guo Ruoxu says in his *Tuhua Jianwen zhi* — Experiences in Painting – written in the 1170's:

"Since the death of Master Dragon – raiser in ancient times, dragons have never again been tamed. [A creature of whom] it is said that "aloft he soars to Heaven, and in the darkness parts the cloudlayers; below he sinks to the [Yellow] Springs and penetrates deep into bottomless depths"; is not one that human beings can grasp, or even see..."[91])

Although this is from a very late source, of the Song dynasty, Guo seems to be quoting from an older text. The term *Yellow Springs* orginally meant the ground water, and came to mean the world of the dead as is borne out by a passage in the *Zuo Zhuan* recording an event in the first year of duke Yin (721 B.C.) which reads as follows:

"Duke Zhuang placed *his mother* Jiang in Chengying and swore an oath, saying," I will not see you again, till I have reached the yellow spring (i.e. till I am dead and under the yellow earth)." But he repented of this..."

Then the story goes on; eventually Ying Kaoshu found a solution and said to the duke:

"Why should you be distressed about that? If you dig into the earth to the yellow springs, and then make a subterranean passage where you can meet each other, who can say that your oath is not fulfilled?"The duke followed this suggestion; and as he entered the passage he sang, "This great tunnel within, with joy doth run." When his mother came out, she sang, "This great tunnel, without, the joy flies about..."[92])

Relating this curious anecdote about a meeting of the living in the realm of death to Guo Ruoxu's statement about the dragon "sinking to the Yellow Springs" one is rather tempted to recall those strange and monstruous creatures that the archaeologists have excavated from some of the Chu tombs and called "tomb guardians" These are usually dated in the middle or the end of the fifth century B.C., and ranging from very realistic representations to quite reduced abstractions, the latter usually just suggesting a pair of heads with a prominent tongue and large antlers.[93])

The best preserved and most stunning examples are those from tomb no.1 at Changtaiguan , Xinyang, Henan (Fig 15). They certainly look very different from

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the dragons of the Shang who do bare their teeth but never show their tongues. Nevertheless, these southern hybrids do have several features in common with at least some of the dragons of the Shang. They come in pairs, their bodies are covered with scales, and they have the antlers of deer. The fully developed antlers we find only on one pair of dragons on the bone spatulas (Fig. 7), where different from the tomb guardians of the Chu, the monsters have both deer antlers and heads. However, as Leroy Davidson said long ago, the so called bottle horns were in fact derived from the antlers of a deer. According to him the prototype was the Muntjac deer.[94])The latter. however, occurs only in the extreme Southwest of China. I think, it is far more likely that the bottle horns are derived from the antlers of the Mi deer which grow to about the same length as the bottle horns before they branch out (Fig. 16). The Mi deer was well known to the Shang and its bones and antlers were used for artifacts and are plentiful in Shang sites.[95]) The Mi deer (Elaphurus Davidianus), was in fact so well known that the Shang king Wuding even dreamed about it. The dream is recorded in a divination question on an oracle bone saying: "On the day Yichou, Ke asked the oracle "The king dreamt during the night from Jiazi to Yichou that he tended a Mi of stone. Does this mean evil or good fortune?"[96]) It seems that the Mi deer may have had some ominous qualities in the thought of the Shang. Moreover, the *Yueling* of the *Liji* says that in the second month of winter "The Mi deer shed their horns, the springs of water are in movement." [97]) In fact, the new growth begins right after the shedding, and perhaps, the growth to the height where they branched out coincided with a date important in the agricultural calender, such as the beginning of the new year or the like.[98]) Be that as it may, the monster on the spatula in figure 7 clearly demonstrates that the combination of the features of a deer and a reptile was part of the dragon iconography of the Shang.

Thus, it seems possible that the concept recorded by Guo Ruoxu of the dragon "sinking to the Yellow Springs" may have existed as early as the Chu state, and perhaps even be related to some of the earlier imagery of the Shang.[99])

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Notes

In order to avoid unnecessary confusion, the spelling of Chinese words and names has been changed to Pinyin in all quotations from texts and translations in Western languages; it has not been changed in book titles.

[1]) Publ. by Li Chi in *Studies of Fifty-Three Ritual Bronzes, Archaeologia Sinica, New Series N. 5, Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica*, Nankang, Taiwan 1972, No R 1089, and R 1090, pls. X, XI, and LIII.

[2]) Cf. William Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes*, London, 1962, 28–29, and *Kaogu Xuebao*, 1954, no. 7,25, pl. 9.

[3]) I am very much indebted indeed to Chang Tsung-tung's excellent book, *Der Kult der Shang-Dynastie im Spiegel der Orakelinschriften, Eine paläographische Studie zur Religion im archaischen China*, Wiesbaden, 1970. in which he has assembled the oracle bone inscriptions pertaining to the religion of the Shang, and given a translation and interpretations. Hereafter referred to as Chang.

[4]) The pictograph for dancing, used in the oracle bone script, shows a man holding long fuzzy things similar to oxtails in his hands, or hanging from his arms. Chang concludes that these dangling implements were there to imitate the movement of rain dripping down and therefore classifies the dance as imitative magic. Cf. Chang, 246.

[5]) Cf. Chang, 213–214.

[6]) ibid., 211–214.

[7]) ibid., 211, from period I a.

[8]) ibid., 222–226.

[9]) ibid., 167–168.

[10]) ibid., 177–179.

[11]) Cf. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, ed. Gui Yuguang, 1806, bk. 126, 10–11.

[12]) Cf Chang, 171.

[13]) According, to Chang, 178, n 4 presumably a tributary of the Huang He.

[14]) ibid., 178, from period I a.

[15]) ibid., 171, from period I a.

[16]) ibid., 177, from period I b.

[17]) ibid., 191–183.

[18]) Cf. ibid., 186–188.

[19]) ibid., 188, from period I a.

[20]) Cf. ibid., 192.

[21]) Cf. ibid., 199–200.

[22]) Cf. ibid., 205.

[23]) ibid., 203–204, from period I a.

[24]) ibid., 206–207, all from period I a, and I b. One may wonder if the twin snakes might have been the archaic form of Fuxi and Nüwa?

[25]) ibid., 98–100.

[26]) Their curses were more often aimed at their descendants, in the inscriptions dealing with rain curses are not mentioned.

[27]) Cf. ibid., 243–246, all from periods I a – III. This has led Chang to believe that the dances by themselves were thought to have the magic power to produce rain. One might argue, however, that if the divination was performed in a holy place by the river or in a temple of a certain deity, the mention of the deity's name may have been omitted in the inscription.

[28]) Cf. ibid. 244–246.

[29]) Cf. Sun, Haibo, *Jiaguwenbian*, reprint, Beijing, 1965, 458, no. 1378, and K. Shima, *Inkyo Bokuji Sorui*, Tokyo, 1967, 241; cf. also Rong Geng, *Jinwenbian*, reprint, Shanghai, 1959, 458, no. 1378, and B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, Stockholm, 1972, 309, no. 1193.

[30]) Cf. Chang, 247–252.

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[31]) Cf. Seraphin Couvreur, trsl. *Tch'ouen Ts'iou et Tso Tchouan, La Chronique de la Principauté de Lou*, repr., Leiden, 1951, I, 327 (bk. V, 21st year of Duke Hsi). Cf. James Legge trsl., *Chinese Classics*, Oxford, 1893–95, v.V, bk. V, 8, p. 179–180. Cf. J. Legge, trsl., *The Sacred Books of China, The Texts of Confucianism*. Pt. III, The Li Ki, 2nd. ed. Oxford, 1926, 201 (Li Ki, bk II, Than Kung, Sect. II, pt. III, 29) Cf. Liji, Sibu Congkan ed. book II, Tan Gong, II, bk III, 18.

[32]) Translated by Alfred Forke, *Lun-heng*, Berlin, 1907–11, in 2 volumes. All quotations in this paper are from this translation, and will be referred to as Forke plus volume and page number. The references to the Chinese text are to the edition in the *Sibu Congkan*, abbreviated to L H, followed by the number of the book (juan), chapter, and page.

[33]) Forke, II, 330; *L H*, XV, III, 8 b.

[34]) Cf. Arthur Waley, trsl., *The Analects of Confucius*, London, 1938,(XI, 25), p. 160. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, v. I, 248.

[35]) Forke, II, 335; *L H*, XV, III, 11 b–12; the italics are mine. Wang Chong continues here and explains: "Some critics are of the opinion that yu (to dash) means to bathe in the Yi river, and feng (to carol) to dry the body. The fourth month of the Zhou dynasty corresponds to the second month of the corrected year. Then it is still cold, and no proper time for bathing and drying the body in the wind. Consequently wading through water, but evidently not bathing was a part of the rain sacrifice . . ."

[36]) Forke, II, 337; *L H*, XV, III, 12 b–13. The Ling constellation is constellation Tiantian in Virgo.

[37]) Forke, I 516; *L H*, XXV, IV, 14 b. Cf. Couvreur, Tso Tchouan, I, 22.

[38]) Forke, I, 520; *L H*, XXV, IV, 16.

[39]) Cf. Forke, II, 349; *L H*, XVI, I, l.

[40]) For this translation I am indebted to the German translation by Erwin von Zach, repr. in *Tu Fu's Gedichte*, Cambridge, Mass., 1952, 503–504. Cf. the *Sibu Congkan*, edition of Du Fu, I, 25 b; the penultimate line of those quoted here refers to the passages in the *Liji* and the *Zuozhuan see supra notes 31*.

[41]) *Quoted from A. Waley, One Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, 2nd ed., London, 1928, 121–122. Cf. *Sibu Congkan, Bo Shi Wenji*, bk. IV, 18–18 b.

[42]) See R. Lapwood and R. Alley, "Hua Shan, the Sacred Mountain of Shensi," *The China Journal* XIX, Shanghai, 1933, 244. For Shun's sacrifice see B. Karlgren, trsl., "The Book of Documents," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, XXII, Stockholm,1950, 2–3.

[43]) In view of the fact that many pre-Christian rites and superstitions have survived in Europe up to the present century, this is by no means an unreasonable assumption.

[44]) Quoted from Evangeline D. Edwards translation in *Chinese Prose Literature of the T'ang Period*, London, 1938, I, 93. Cf. *Tangdai Congshu*, (ed. Wang Wenhe), Shanghai, 1806, I, bk. V, 5 b–6.

[45]) Quoted from Edwards, *Prose Literature*, II, 217–218; Cf. *Tangdai Congshu*, V, bk. III, pt. II, 2–2 b.

[46]) The word used in the text is *sheyi* which now usually means a gecko. However, the *Fang Yan*, an ancient dialect dictionary by Yang Xiong (53 B. C. – 18 A. D.) says that it is the Southern name of a species living in swamps and damp places, also called yongyuan which in the North is called yiyi. The yongyuan in now usually identified with a newt, Molge pyrrhogaster, Cf. Fang Yan, bk. VIII, Sibu Congkan ed. p. 4.

[47]) In European superstition, salamanders are believed to emerge from their hidden habitats only before a rainfall or a storm. Cf. Hans Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, Berlin, 1927–38, VI, 458–459.

[48]) The fact that the story tells us that the magic is performed by a Gandharan priest is most likely due to a mix up in the story, or failure of Li Deyu's memory. Generally this sort of literature freely mixes elements from different stories. Besides that, Buddhist priests from the West were often asked to pray for rain and if they were successful gained tremendous prestige. Thus they might as well have also adopted Chinese practices.

[49]) Forke, II, 351, III; *L H*, XVI, I, 2.

[50]) Forke, II, 353, XI; *L H*. XVI, I, 3–b.

[51]) Forke, II, 352, VII; *L H*. XVI, I, 2 b–3.

[52]) This may seem strange to us now, but it would not have appeared strange at all to the ancient Greeks who used the word krokodeilos both for the rather huge crocodile, and the tiny lizard. Besides their obvious

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resemblance, the belief that they are related – –found in places as far from each other as China and Greece – – may have originated in prehistoric times on account of the fact that a newly hatched crocodile is indeed no larger than a big lizard. Cf. August F. von Pauly, *Pauly's Realencyclopadie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* hrsg. G. Wissowa, Stuttgart, 1894 –, XI, 1947 ff.

[53]) Cf. *Shen Nong Ben Cao Jing,* bk, II, (repr. Shanghai, 1955), 89–99.

[54]) Cf. *Ben Cao Gang Mu,* bk. XLIII (repr. Honkong, 1974, vol XXII), 62–63.

[55]) Megalobatrachus maximus, whose habitat are the mountain streams of Western Central China, and Japan.

[56]) Forke, II, 187, L H, V, II, 17 b.

[57]) Forke, I, 354, L H, VI, III, 13–13 b.

[58]) Forke I, 354–355; *L H,* VI, III, 13 b–14. The quotation does not specify that they were raised in pools, but it does say, that the emperor Kong Jia was presented with two pairs of dragon's for breeding, one from the Yellow river and one from the Han.

[59]) Curious is that the Egyptians, who had no shortage of crocodiles, kept some sacred crocodiles in special ponds. Cf. Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der Agyptischen Religionsgeschichte,* Berlin, 1952, 392–394. Sacred crocodiles were also kept in pools in India. We might also note, that the Mi deer was kept in the palace gardens, long time after its extinction in the wild state, for some mysterious unknown reason.

[60]) Only two kinds of Emydousauria were found in China in historic times, Alligator sinensis, which in beginning of this century was still fairly common in the lower course of the Yangtze, and the adjacent lakes. the other, Crocodilus porosus seems to have been virtually extinct in its ancient habitats in South West China. I doubt that a layman could see the difference easily. Schafer, maintains that they were clearly distinguished, the *tuo* being the alligator, and the *e* being the crocodilus porosus. Cf. E. H. Schafer, "Notes on T'ang Culture", *Monumenta Serica,*XXI, Tokyo, 1962, 198–203.

[61]) See *Ben Cao Jing,* bk. II, 88–89.

[62]) See *Ben Cao Gang Mu,* bk. XLIII, 58–59.

[63]) Cf. Chang, 260.

[64]) Cf. ibid., 261.

[65]) Cf. Edwards, *Chinese Prose Literature,* no. 96 *Liu I huan,* pp. 86–94. Cf. also the *Lo shen chuan,* ibid., no 116, I, p. 182, where the nymph of the Luo river is called the "daughter of the dragon king of the River Luo." All this shows that a dragon king of a lake or river is its god. Perhaps the crocodiles worshipped in ancient Egypt, originally also owed their sacredness to a prehistoric fearful worship of the rivergod imagined to be a crocodile.

[66]) Forke, I, 355; *L H,* VI, III, 13 b. Forke translates Di with "god." Kong Jia was an emperor of the Xia dynasty.

[67]) Forke I, 327; *L H,* II, III, 10 b–11.

[68]) Drums were also used in war time, in this context it is interesting that the rivergod He of the Shang was also the god of war. Cf. Chang, 173–174.

[69]) Quoted from B. Karlgren's translation in *The Book of Odes,* The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Göteborg, 1950, 197. Cf. J. Legge, *Chinese Classics,* v. IV, pt. III, bk. I.

[70]) Cf. A. Waley, trsl. *The Book of Songs,* 2nd. ed., New York, 1960, Preface.

[71]) Cf. *Kangxi Zidian,* under tuo (alligator).

[72]) Cf. Florance Waterbury, *Early Chinese Symbols and Literature: Vestiges and Speculations,* New York, 1942, 79. Cf. Edward H. Schafer, "Notes on T'ang Culture, 3. The Alligator and the Crocodile," *Monumenta Serica,* XXI, Tokyo, 1962, 198–203.

[73]) See Sumitomo, Baron, *Senoku Seisho, The Collection of Old Bronzes of Baron Sumitomo,* Kyoto, 1934, I, III, pl. 130 a, b.

[74]) Forke, I, 356; *L H,* VI, III, 14 b.

[75]) Forke, II, 216–217; *L H,* XIX, III, 13 b.

[76]) Published by Li Chi, Tung Tso-pin, Shih Chang-ju, and Kao Ch'ü-hsün in *Hou Chia Chuang, (The Yin-Shang Cemetery Site at Anyang, Honan)* Volume II: HPKM 1001, part 2: Plates, Archaeologia Sinica, n. III, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, 1962, pls. CXCI – CCXX; Hereafter referred to as HPKM 1001.

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[77]) The Chinese call these also *Fei Yi*, there is not much point in arguing about teminology here;

[78]) Square with crescents is Karlgren's term. He sees in it a further reduction of the monoculus in which he sees a simplification of the dragon. On bronzes the center usually looks like an eye. Whether the juxtaposition of it with the monoculus on this piece indicates that they are the same or something different is a question. Cf. B. Karlgren, *A Catalaogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred F. Pillsbury Collection*, Minneapolis, 1952, 85–86.

[79]) Cf. HPKM 1001, pl. CCXVIII, 4, and 3, and CCXIX, 5. Cf. Chang, 29, no. 672, and 674.

[80]) Forke, I, 357; *L H*, VI, III, 15–15 b.

[81]) Cf. William C. White, *Bone Culture of Ancient China*, Toronto, 1945, pl. LX, and p. 152.

[82]) Cf *Yijing, Sibu Conkan* edition, I, p. 3 b; the same passage also mentions the flying dragon in the sky, ibid. 1 b.

[83]) Forke, II, 187; *L H*, V, II, 17.

[84]) Forke, I 351; *L H*, VI, III, II b.

[85]) Forke, I, 353; *L H*, VI, III, 13.

[86]) Cf. Ode CCXXXVIII: *Yu pu*, and Ode CCLVIII: *Yun Han*, of the *Da ya*, where it is called the Cloud Han, and Ode CCIII: *Da dong*, of the *Xiao ya*, where we read: "in the heavens there is the (celestial) Han. "B. Karlgren, *Book of Odes*, Göteborg, 1950, 191–192, 224; and 154–155; Cf. J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol IV, pt. III, bk. I, IV, 4; vol. IV, pt. III, bk. III, IV, 1; vol. IV, pt. II, bk. V, IX, 5. the earliest mention of the term Heavenly He seems to be in the Erya. Cf. Morohashi *Dai Kan Wa Jiten*.

[87]) Quoted from B. Karlgren, *Book of Odes*, 224–225; I have substituted the original Shang Di for Karlgren's translation: God on High. Cf. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, IV, 528–530.

[88]) Cf. the illuminating article by Edward H. Schafer "The Sky River." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XCIV, 1974, 401–407.

[89]) See *Bifa Ji, Meishu Congshu*, Shanghai, 1928, IV, VI, I, (II), p.l. Cf. S. Sakanishi, *The Spirit of the Brush*, London, reprint 1948, 86. However, the word used here for dragon is not *long*, but *qiu*, which, however also means a horned dragon. At any rate, it shows that such ideas were still alive in the 10th century.

[90]) An interesting side light from another culture is provided by Pausanias who in the second century A. D. reports the following about a spring named Hagno on Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia, the most backward and rustic part of Greece. He says: "Should a drought persist for a long time, and the seeds in the earth and the trees wither, then the priest of Lycaean Zeus, after praying towards the water and making the usual sacrifices, lowers an oak branch to the surface of the spring, not letting it sink deep. When the water has been stirred up there rises a vapour, like mist; after a time the mist becomes cloud, gathers to itself other clouds, and makes rain fall on the land of the Arcadians."

Thus, this stirring of the water may be an extremely old form of rain magic going back to very ancient or even prehistoric times. Quoted from Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, ed. with Engl. Transl. by W. H. S. Jones, London (repr.) 1955, IV, bk. VIII, Arcadia, XXXVIII. 4–5, p. 92–93.

[91]) Quoted from Alexander C. Soper, (trsl.) *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting (T'u-hua Chien-wen Chih)*, Washington, D. C., 1951, 21,and I, 19.

[92]) Quoted from J. Legge, *The Ch'un ts'eu with the Tso chuen, The Chinese Classics*, v. V, bk. I, 3; (1 st year of duke Yin), p. 2, and 6.

[93]) Cf. *Wenwu*, 1957, no. 9 color pl. 1, and p. 21; *Wenwu*, 1958, no. 1, p. 24–28; *Kaogu*, 1958, no. 11, pl. 5, and 6, and p. 80; *Wenwu*, 1966, no. 5, pl. 20, and p. 37. This last one from tomb no. 1 at Wangshan., Jiangling, in Hubei, shows indeed antlers of Elaphurus Davidianus.

[94]) Cf. John Leroy Davidson, "The Riddle of the Bottle Horn," *Artibus Asiae*, XXII, 1959, 15–22

[95]) No Muntjac bones or antlers have been found at Anyang while, bones and antlers of the Mi deer (Elaphurus Davidianus) are plentiful in Anyang tombs. Cf. P. Teilhard de Chardin, and C. C. Young, "On the Mammalian Remains from the Archaeological Site of Anyang," *Palaeontologia Sinica*, Series C, XII, I, Nanjing, 1938, 30–38.

[96]) Chang, 50, from period I a; Chang, however, wrongly translates the graph for Mi deer, as *moose*. Cf. L. C. Hopkins, "Records of Davids Deer as Hunted by Shang-Yin Sovereigns" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for 1939*, London 1939, 426 ff. Cf. also Edward H. Schafer, "Cultural History of the Elaphure," *Sinologica*, IV, Basel, 1956, 250–274.

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[97]) Quoted from J. Legge, *Li-Ki*, bk. IV, Sect. IV, pt. II, 14; *Sacred Books of China*, III, 305. Legge also translates Mi with *moose*. Cf. *Liji, Sibu Congkan* edition, bk. V, p. 22 b.

[98]) Since the Mi deer no longer exists in the wild state it is difficult to know at what time it shed its horns, because in a domesticated condition this may have changed slightly.

[99]) Cf. Chang, 194, note 1. Since offerings to the river gods were buried, Chang concludes that in Shang times the river gods were the main deities of the netherworld.

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LIST OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE TERMS, NAMES, AND TITLES

bi 鼊
Bianzhou 汴州
Bie Lu 別錄
Bo Juyi 白居易
Bo Yi 伯益
Changtaiguan 長台關
Chen Cangqi 陳藏器
Chengying 城穎
Chu 楚
Da dong 大東
Da ya 大雅
Du Fu 杜甫
Duan Chengshi, *Youyang zazu* 段成式　酉陽雜俎
e 鱷 鰐
Erya 爾雅
fei yi 肥遺
Gao Lishi 高力士
guang 觥
gui 圭
Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi* 郭若虛　圖畫見聞誌
Hou Ji 后稷
Houjiazhuang 侯家莊
Ji 季
Ji Zi 箕子
jia 斝
Jiazi 甲子
Jiang 姜
Jiangling 江陵
Jin 今
Jing Hao, *Bifa ji* 荊浩　筆法記
Jiyi 祭意
Kong Jia 孔甲
lei wen 雷文
Li Deyu 李德裕
Li Shizhen, *Bencao Gangmu* 李時珍　本草綱目
lingli 鯪鯉
Ling tai 靈臺
Ling xing 靈星
Liu Fang, *Ci Liushi Jiu Wen* 柳芳　次柳氏舊聞
long 龍
Lu Dian
Meishu congshu 美術叢書
Meng Chang 孟嘗
Mi 麋
Ming huang 明皇
Mingyu 明堂
Qi 齊
Qin 秦
Quanling 全陵
quanlong 泉龍
rongyuan 蠑螈
Shang Di 上帝
shanlongzi 山龍子
shanyu 鱓魚
Shen Zi 愼子
sheyi 蛇醫
shilongzi 石龍子
Shima Kunio, *Inkyo bokuji sorui* 島邦男　殷墟卜辭綜類
shougong 守宮
Shun 舜
Sibu congkan 四部叢刊
Sima Qian, *Shiji* 司馬遷　史記
Su Song 蘇頌
Sumitomo, *Senoku Seisho* 住友　泉屋清賞
Sun Haibo, *Jiaguwenbian* 孫海波　甲骨文編
Tangdai Congshu 唐代叢書
Tao Hongjing, *Ming Yi* 陶弘景　名醫
Tianjin 天津
tulong 土龍
tuo 鼉
tuoyu 鼉魚
Wang Chong, *Lun Heng* 王充　論衡
Wangshan 望山
Wang Yanwei 王彥威
Wu Pu, *Shen Nong Bencao Jing* 吳普　神農本草經
Wuding 武丁
Wuwei 無畏
Xiang 湘
Xibeigang 西北岡
Xinchou 辛丑
Xinyang 信陽
xiyi 蜥蜴　蜥易
Xu Shen, *Shuowen* 許愼　說文
Xuan Zong 玄宗
Yang Xiong, *Fang Yan* 楊雄　方言
Yanshi 燕室
Yanshiqiu 燕室丘
Yao 堯
Yi 沂
Yizhou 乙丑
Ying Kaoshu 潁高叔
yiyi 易蜴
you 鹵
yu 盂
Yu Pu 禹樸
Yuan 袁
Yue 岳
Yun Han 雲漢
Zeng Xi 曾子
Zhouxin 紂辛
Zhuang 莊

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List of illustrations

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Figure 16 Mi deer (Elaphurus Davidianus) with half grown antlers just before branching out, courtesy of Miss Corning.

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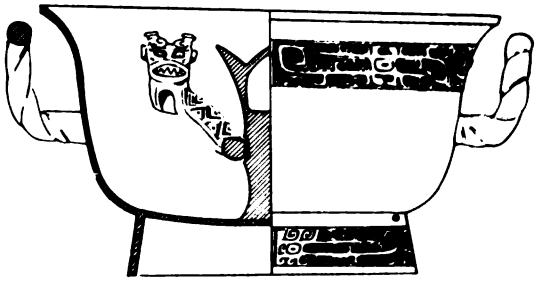
Plate 1

Fig 1



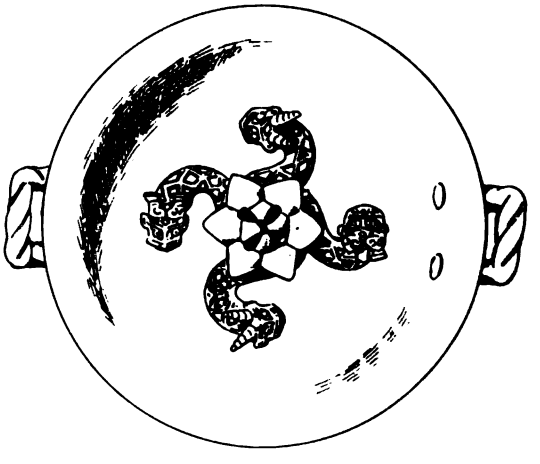


Fig 2

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Plate 2

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Plate 5

Fig 13

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Fig 14

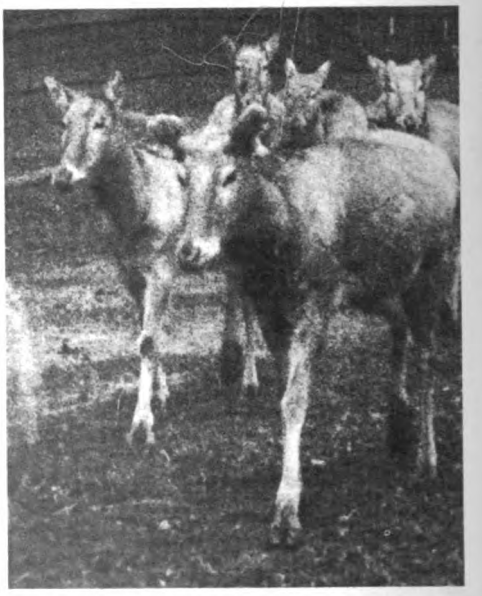

Fig 16

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